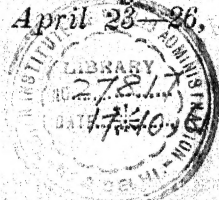


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THIRTIETH SESSION  
OF THE  
**ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE**



*Qaid-e-Azam Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah's  
Presidential Address (verbatim), all the  
resolutions passed and complete pro-  
ceedings of the 30th Session of the All-  
India Muslim League held at Delhi,  
on April 23-26, 1943.*



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## FOREWORD

The last session of the All-India Muslim League held in Delhi on April 24, 25 and 26, 1943, was in the words of Mr. Jinnah himself "a historical session held in a historical city." The President's speech in particular was the most clear and well-reasoned exposition of the Indian political tangle. The Muslim view-point has been during recent years put forward several times by a number of Muslim League leaders, including the Qaid-e-Azam himself, but never before with so much clarity.

While tracing constitutional developments Mr. Jinnah went as far back as 1861. He also peeped into the future and visualised the likely form of Government in Pakistan. The vexed question of minorities in Pakistan did not go untouched. And all this was done in three short hours. It is therefore obvious that every sentence, every phrase and every word of Mr. Jinnah's speech have to be carefully read to fully understand and appreciate what the Muslim League stands for. Summaries (sometimes distorted, when these have been reported by "special" representatives and correspondents) can do no justice to a speech like this. It is the compiler's belief that no honest man, after carefully reading this speech, can say with Babu Rajendra Prasad that "the Muslim League demand is not clear"

Mr. Jinnah's clarion call to the Muslims to play their role should not go unheeded. Our goal cannot be achieved, or if it is achieved it will not be worth much, unless we immediately bring about social, cultural and economic renaissance among the Indian Mussalmans. We must now realize that Mr. Jinnah has done all that he could possibly do for us: he has brought as all

under a single banner, he has given us a platform and a programme. It is now up to us to rise to those heights to which our beloved leader expects us to rise? This alone can ensure an honourable life for us on this sub-continent.

Of course, the Muslim League has no ill will against the Hindus. It was wrong and unbecoming (to say the least) on the part of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, when addressing the All-India Congress Committee meeting early in May last year, he said that the Muslim League called the Muslim majority zones Pak and Hindu majority zones Napak. We cannot quite imagine how Maulana Azad would feel when he learns that the word Pakistan was given to us by the Hindus themselves and the League stands by the Lahore resolution alone. The Muslim League is fighting for the legitimate rights of Indian Mussalmans. It does not grudge the Hindus having all that properly belongs to them. The Mussalmans, says Mr. Jinnah, should also be allowed to have what properly belongs to them. This demand is most fair and there is no earthly reason why this should be denied.

Press comments appearing at the end former special feature of this book. These comments have been taken from the organs of all the three main parties in India—Hindu, Muslim and English, while the proceedings of the session have been reproduced from the "Dawn" of Delhi.

Lahore

SHAMLOO.

7-5-43



QAID-E-AZAM  
**MR. MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH**  
THE PRESIDENT,  
ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE.



## TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION

Delhi was 'en fete' on April 23 when Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President-elect of the 30th session of the All-India Muslim League, was taken out in a twenty-deep two-mile procession around Delhi, amidst tremendous ovations.

Smiling and bowing to the salutations of an unparalleled gathering all along the route, Mr. Jinnah appeared in the procession seated on an exquisitely decorated dais in a motor vehicle.

A couple of miles in length, amid pompous, colourful scenes reminiscent of the glorious days of Muslim rule, the procession was easily the grandest ever witnessed in Delhi. The multitude of men, women, and children of all castes and creeds, that thronged on either side of the route and participated in the procession, numbered well over five lakhs. The procession started at 4 p. m. from the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League at Darya Gunj. The enormity of its proportions can be imagined from the fact that when the Elephant Herald reached Chandni Chowk, the tail-end of the procession was still near the Delhi Gate. Long before the commencement of the procession Darya Gunj and its entire vicinity extending to the Jamia Masjid appeared like a sea of heads.

The procession then began to move majestically, led by three beautifully caparisoned elephants, followed by cameleers in Arab costume. A squad of Muslim National Guards on bicycles went in formation, with the League flags fluttering on their vehicles. Behind them were the mounted National Guards carrying staffs with the green flag at the top.

## National Guards' Part

The most impressive part of the pageant was the disciplined march, in formation, of the various battalions of Muslim National Guards, with bands playing, under the command of Mr. Yusuf Haroon, the Salar-e-Azam, of the All-India Muslim National Guards.

The order of the different battalions was as follows : Sind, Bombay, Cawnpore, Basti, Ajmer, Delhi, New Delhi, Aligarh, Ambala, Agra, Lahore, Lucknow, Saharanpore, Jullundur, Muzaffarpur, Hapur, Delhi Muslim Students' Federation, Peshawar.

The Presidential vehicle was guarded by special volunteers on the rear and front. Mr. Jinnah sat on a chair placed on the dais, with Mr. Hussain Malik, Chairman of the Reception Committee, on his left. Behind him sat his private secretary, Mr. Matloob Hussain, Salar-e-Azam, Delhi Provincial Muslim National Guards, standing on guard.

More than a hundred arches and gates were erected all along the route many of which were named after great Muslim leaders like Iqbal and Moulana Mohammed Ali.

## Sea of Humanity

The entire front terrace of the Jamia Masjid and the surrounding places were filled with eager spectators, among whom were a large number of ladies. When the presidential carriage arrived in front of the mosque, a tremendous ovation was given by the masses. The sky-rending cries of "Allah-o-Akbar", "Pakistan Zindabad," "Muslim League Zindabad," "Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad" rose from the multitude and re-echoed in Shahjahan's Mosque. Mr. Jinnah appeared profoundly affected by the expression of the people's devotion, and acknow-

ledged their greetings by bowing his head. In front of the late Maulana Shaukat Ali's tomb Mr. Jinnah rose from his seat, showed his reverence and responded to the greetings from all round. Some old men were so much overwhelmed with emotion that tears actually flowed their cheeks when they raised their hands to bless the Qaid-e-Azam. Salutes were fired in front of the Mosque to honour the Leader.

On the Esplanade Road there was an amusing spectacle when Mr. Jinnah was saluted by a number of elephants belonging to the Elgin Circus, which was duly acknowledged by him.

### Iqbal Gate

At Chandni Chowk, the principal bazar of Delhi, the procession passed through a number of arches and gates. When Mr. Jinnah's carriage reached beneath the 'Iqbal Gate', suddenly there was a shower of flowers on him from above.

Touching scenes were witnessed at Fatehpuri, near the historic mosque named after the place. Men, women and children had perched themselves at all conceivable places, balconies, terraces, and roofs. On the road below, the crowd was so thick that a boy, in his attempt to catch a closer glimpse of Mr. Jinnah, was all but killed, and was rescued with difficulty. Begum and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Qazi Mohammed Isa, and Miss Fatima Jinnah, with a number of others, were seen on the balcony of the mosque building.

On seeing Mr. Jinnah being received with such tremendous ovations and expressions of affection and devotion, by the huge masses below, Miss Fatima Jinnah, overpowered by emotion, repeatedly waved her hands from the balcony. Mr. Jinnah stood up and acknowledged the greetings of the thousands of men and women who waved their kerchiefs from above. The procession then passed

through Katra Barian, where flowers were rained on the presidential carriage and purses were presented to Mr. Jinnah by Seth Ahmed Memon and Mr. Mohi.

At Lal Kuan beautiful arches with greetings welcomed the procession and rose-water was sprinkled on the processionists by means of spray pumps. Sweets and 'sharbat' were abundantly distributed.

### **"Anjam" Gate**

"Anjam", the premier Urdu daily of Delhi, had erected a beautiful gate, from which flowers were showered on the presidential carriage as it passed along.

The procession passed through Hauz Qazi and Ajmeri Gate and reached the main gate on the Jinnah Ground at about 7-30 p. m.

The striking features of the procession were the spontaneous outburst of feelings and expression of devotion to the League and its great leader, and the lively interest and active participation of Muslim women in the procession. Though in purdah most of them, they appeared all along the route in balconies and demonstrated their devotion to the Muslim League, by paying vocal as well as floral tributes to the President.

Innumerable were the banners carried by the volunteers. The inscriptions on them revealed the heart of Muslim India. Some of them ran as follows: "The basis of our national edifice is not territorial unity," "Muslims are a separate nation", "We will achieve Pakistan at all cost," "Independence of India lies in Pakistan", "National glory lies in the achievement of Pakistan," "Mohammed Ali Jinnah is the soul of the nation, our eager eyes are waiting to receive him", "Western Democracy is a fraud", "the opponents of Pakistan are the enemies of Islam and Muslims." Besides these numerous verses and

couplets from Iqbal were prominently displayed on gates.

Mr. Jinnah was profusely garlanded all along the route. The Delhi Muslim Scouts saluted Mr. Jinnah near the Jamia Masjid and fired salute guns.

At several places crowds of Hindus greeted Mr. Jinnah and he acknowledged it with a smiling face.

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## FLAG HOISTING

*Mr. M. A. Jinnah performed the flag-hoisting ceremony at the 'Chaman-e-Pakistan' on the evening of April 23 before a large gathering.*

Around the flag staff the Muslim National Guards formed a ring, and within it were prominent members of the League Working Committee, Provincial Ministers, and Members of the Reception Committee.

Verses from the Holy Quran were recited and poems were recited on the glories of the Green Flag and the Silver Moon. When the chorus, which meant "This is not the moon that knows any waning," was sung, there were loud cheers and cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar,' and 'Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad' were raised.

Cameras clicked when Mr. Jinnah unfurled the flag, and tremendous cheers were raised by the National Guards and all others present.

Addressing the gathering in Urdu, Mr. Jinnah reiterated the determination of the Mussalmans to achieve their goal of Pakistan and said: "The hoisting of the flag is an annual feature at these meetings. You have honoured me today by asking me to perform this ceremony. It is under this flag that the Muslim League had raised its voice, which not only resounds in India, but reverberates throughout the whole world. There is no doubt that the whole of Muslim nation of India has come under this banner (cheers).

"Our goal is Pakistan ; our right is Pakistan (cheers) ; and we are determined to achieve it (cheers). There is only one way to success. Unite and prepare to make any sacrifice. There is no power on earth that can prevent you from attaining your goal (cheers).

"Thank you all for your unbounded enthusiasm,

which you have shown by your numbers and your interest in the procession, in this Imperial capital of India. You have thus demonstrated the real power of the League and that every Muslim man, woman, or child is behind it. This is the capital of Hindustan. But the day is not far off, when we will have our own capital. (Prolonged cheers and cries of 'Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad.')  

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## LEAGUE SESSION OPENS

Chaman-e-Pakistan was alive since the early hours of the morning on April 24 with surging crowds of enthusiastic men, women and children keen on gaining entrance into the huge pandal to honour and hear their Qaid-e-Azam. Foreign correspondents, Muslim National Guards in their picturesque uniforms, Fez-capped Muslims from north, east, south and west of the country and Jinnah-capped young men ran hither and thither securing for themselves accommodation in the pandal which was rapidly being filled. At 10 a. m. when Mr. Jinnah arrived there was hardly a chair available.

The pandal was one of the biggest that was constructed in recent years for the annual session. The central gate was named Moulana Mohammed Ali Gate. The spacious enclosures for visitors, delegates, members of the Reception Committee and members of the All-India Muslim League Council were well-demarcated and furnished. National Guards in smart uniforms were posted at all gates and points marking off the enclosures. Admission of the public was very smoothly conducted by assigning separate entrance for different categories of persons. On the beautifully decorated dais were seated members of the Working Committee and the All-India Muslim League Council, distinguished visitors and a number of ladies. Long rows of seats had been provided for the Press in front of the presidential dais where about a hundred representatives of the Press were accommodated. Two of the slogans prominently displayed on green cloth about the presidential table were : "Independence of India is implied in Pakistan" and "Pakistan has been in existence for centuries".



### Record Gathering

The gathering was easily the biggest and the most representative witnessed in recent years. The vast assemblage though numbering more than a lakh of people showed amazing discipline and orderliness. In spite of difficulties of travel every class of persons from every Province was represented in large numbers. Over 400 members of the All-India Muslim League Council and 1,200 delegates from all provinces attended.

The growing interest of foreigners in the League was manifested by the presence of a considerable number of British, American and Chinese press correspondents including lady correspondents. Another feature of the meeting was the presence of two members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Hon'ble Sir Mohamed Usman and the Hon. Sir Feroz Khan Noon. Major General Odlum, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Canada in China, Mr. Pao and Mrs. Elizabeth Rikh were also present on the dais.

All Muslim Ministers of Sind, the Punjab and Assam were present. Major Khizar Hayat Khan, the Punjab Premier, on entering the pandal received an ovation which he smilingly acknowledged.

### Notable Leaders

Prominent among the leaders attending the session were the Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad, Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Ch. Khaliquzzaman, the Nawab of Mamdot, Nawab Sir Mohammed Yusuf, Mian Bashir Ahmed, Major Khizar Hayat, Major Shoukat Hayat, Mian Abdul Haye, Sayed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Shaikh Karamat Ali, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Khan Bakht Jamal Khan, Moulana Akram Khan, K. B. Abdul Momin, Mr. Latifur Rahman, Mr. Hussain Imam,

Mr. M. A. H. Tspahani, Sir M. Saadullah, Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Sir G. H. Hidayatullah, Mr. G. M. Sayed, Sh. Abdul Majid, K. B. M. A. Khurro, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Syed Abdur Raoof Shah, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan and Dr. S. N. A. Jafri. Ladies were seated both inside the purdah as well as on the open dais. Prominent among the latter were Miss Fatima Jinnah, Begam Liaqat Ali Khan, Begum Bashir Ahmed, Begum Mohamed Ali, Begum Habibulla, Begum Hussain Malik and Fatima Begum.

### President's Arrival

National Guards stood to attention when Mr. Jinnah's arrival outside the pandal was announced by the herald. Accompanied by Mr. Hussain Malik, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and escorted by the U. P. and Delhi Provincial Salars of National Guards, Mr. Jinnah walked to the dais, saluting and acknowledging the warm greetings of the gathering. He was dressed in light creamy brown achkan, close fitting white trousers and black Jinnah cap. Perhaps for the first time Mr Jinnah was seen wearing a Pakistan Badge on his collar with the letter P inscribed on it, in green colour. His fragile-like vivacious figure appeared to be the acme of grace, dignity and attractiveness. His determined yet soft face beamed with delight as he surveyed with something like paternal affection the huge assembly whose hearts were surging with feelings of the deepest love, devotion and loyalty to the leader. As he approached the dais and some time after he had taken his seat, slogans were raised by Mian Ferozuddin of Lahore and the responses of the people were sky-rocketing.

### Various Slogans

Besides "Allah-o-Akbar", the slogans were 'Long Live the Mighty Leader of the Muslim nation, 'Long Live the Upholder of the Banner of Pakistan movement,' 'Long Live the Navigator of the ship of Indian Politics,' Mohamed Ali Jinnah being added at the end of each of these slogans, 'Long Live Pakistan,' 'Long Live the Rulers of Islamic countries.' The proceedings began with a recitation from the Holy Quran by a Pathan volunteer. Thereafter Mr. Anwar Qureishy Ghaziabadi recited the Tarana-i-Milli (National Anthem) of Iqbal and Mr. Shuja-ul-Haq recited the Taran-i-Pakistan, specially composed by Mian Bashir Ahmed, Working Committee member. The burden of the anthem was, 'We are bound to achieve Pakistan,' Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and at his instance the gathering joined in singing the chorus which read "Dil ki rahat Pakistan, Leke rahenge Pakistan," which means "Pakistan is the solace of our hearts, and we will achieve it."

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Husain M. Malik, B. A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, then read the following address :

## RECEPTION ADDRESS

"Qaid-e-Azam, ladies and gentlemen,—It is my duty to acknowledge a debt of gratitude that I owe to the Muslims of Delhi who have entrusted me with the task of welcoming the All-India Muslim League on their behalf to this historic city. Some of you have come from Assam, some from the North-West Frontier Province, while there are others who have come from Bombay and Madras. In these days of turmoil and war it is no easy matter to undertake such long journeys. You have travelled all these distances at great personal discomfort and expense to attend this annual session of the great Parliament of the Muslims of India. Can there be a better proof of your determination and zeal to show to the world that Muslim India is united for the realisation of their sacred goal? Nor can there be a better proof of the fact that the voice of the All-India Muslim League is the voice of a hundred million Muslims of India.

### Historic Delhi

"This Delhi of ours is the cradle and grave of many Empires. True description of Delhi can be given only in the words of the great Islamic poet, the late Sir Mohammed Iqbal.

"Here is the treasure of Islamic art, culture and philosophy, here was the 'capital of Sher Shah Suri and here was the capital of the Moghuls. Today Delhi is the capital of the British Indian Empire. The symbols of Islamic art and glory are still prominent here. A few miles away from this pandal stands Qutab Minar. This symbol of Islamic art, I am proud to say, is considered as one of the Wonders of the World. In the centre of the city stands Jamia Masjid whereto the Moghul Emperors came to pay their homage to the King of

Kings. From here Qutab-ud-Din Iqbal demonstrated to the world that in Islam all men are equal and that even a slave can rise to the heights of a king. Delhi today is the metropolis of the British Indian Empire where some of the most prominent and communal leaders of the country assemble from time to time. It is, therefore, the confluence of the most important currents of public opinion. It is, therefore, Sir, in the fitness of things that this great organisation of the Muslims be holding its session here today.

### Growth of the League

"The present life of the League can be traced back to 1936 when it decided to send its representatives to the Provincial Legislatures. We were then in a deplorable state. We were unorganised and we had no political organisation of our own. Many of the candidates who stood on the League ticket were successful. The Congress realised that the Muslim League was gaining strength, and, therefore, some method must be found whereby its progress must be checked. It, therefore, offered to take League candidates within its party, provided they signed the Congress pledge.

"This was an attempt to disrupt the Muslims. It was obvious that if these candidates had signed the Congress pledge and joined its party, it would have misled the Muslim public and would have thus weakened the strength of the Muslim League. But, luckily, the Congress was not successful. Having thus failed, the Congress High Command made further attempts to bring the Muslims within its fold. Therefore, the mass contact campaign was launched. But, Sir, thanks to your determination and efforts, the Muslims did not fall a prey to the Congress machinations.

### Congress Claim

"The Congress put forward a fatuous claim to represent the whole of India. It alleged that there were only two parties in the country, the British and the Congress, and, therefore, it voiced the opinion of both the Hindus and the Muslims. It being the only political organisation of the country, the British should negotiate with them alone and no other party had any recognition or right to be consulted.

"At this critical juncture, Sir, you with your determination and untiring efforts organised the League, and for once in the history of the world in such a short time brought a nation of a hundred million Muslims under one banner. A nation of a hundred millions cannot be considered a minority. It has its own civilisation, its own culture, its own laws and customs, its own language and its own religion. Such a nation has the right to be consulted before any constitution can be thrust upon it.

"The pretensions of the Congress to represent the whole of India and to be the only political organisation were exposed when its High Command began to work openly for Ram Raj. The severity of treatment, the atrocities and the way in which the rights of the Muslims were trampled upon during the short-lived regime of the Congress convinced the Muslims that the Congress High Command was in no way prepared to allow them to practise their culture, philosophy and religion, and in order to establish Ram Raj, it was determined to crush the Muslims under its heels.

"The short-sighted policy of the Congress and its professions convinced the Muslims that it meant to establish Ram Raj in India. They could expect from the Congress no quarter, no sympathy and no tolerance. There-

fore, Sir, under your guidance they evolved a formula which would give them the right to establish their homelands in areas where they are in majority.

### **Pakistan**

"The Pakistan resolution as adopted at Lahore has been condemned by our opponents through the Congress-controlled press, but no argument has been advanced to prove that it is in any way detrimental to the cause of the country. It is condemned because it gives the Muslims the right of self-determination and freedom from Ram Raj and Hindu domination. Our opponents have cried themselves hoarse by shouting that Pakistan means the vivisection of India. This is mere propaganda. India, Sir, is not a country but a sub-continent composed of various nations.

"The Hindus and the Muslims are two major nations with different art, civilisation, culture, customs, language, laws and religion. Can a sub-continent composed of nations with so wide differences be called geographically one? The continent of Europe is composed of many different nations. Their civilisation and religion is the same while their languages are not different, nor is there any great difference in their laws and customs. Yet can we, today, say that Europe is geographically one?

### **Civil Defence Movement**

"The recent Civil Disobedience campaign of the Congress was a serious departure from its creed of non-violence. It was to be a fight to the finish, and our Hindu friends had declared that they would go on with this movement with us or without us. But, Sir, in this country no movement which has not the support of the Muslims can ever be successful.

"The Muslims kept aloof from this movement not because they were in any way less determined to free the country from the foreign yoke or because they were in any way less prepared to make sacrifices for the cause of freedom. They kept aloof because it did not have the sanction of the Muslim League. The movement, which had been started to harass the British to come to terms with the Congress over the heads of the Muslims, failed. Therefore, some solution had to be found out of the impasse.

"Anyone who has studied the correspondence that passed between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi could not fail to notice traces of disappointment in the latter's tone. At this moment the Viceroy made his statement in Calcutta which offered relief to Mr. Gandhi and gave him courage to undertake his 21 days' fast. The Viceroy's statement that India was geographically one perturbed the Muslim India and offered the Congress further stimulus

"The tone of Mr. Gandhi's letters changed and he began to ask the Viceroy to prove that he and the Congress were guilty of the black deeds that were committed in the guise of civil disobedience. His request became a threat in the form of a fast. The mischief had been created by the Viceroy's statement.

"The enemy was at India's gate and fullest co-operation by the Muslims was required. British prestige was at stake, and therefore, the Viceroy had to show fortitude and steadfastness. All methods of the Congress to coerce the British by threats, false slogans, civil disobedience and fasting were designed with a view to capture power from the British to the detriment of the Muslims.

"In the wake of the Congress has sprung up a body of men whom you yourself, Sir, rightly labelled as politi-



cal orphans. When the Congress begins to weaken, such body of men is always available who are willing to join the blood bank to rejuvenate it. These political orphans have no backing, no creed, no party, no policy and no programme. They delight in making speeches in King's English and address an audience of their own choosing.

### British Attitude

"When the present War began, the Muslim League made it clear that it did not wish to embarrass the British, and therefore, it would not insist on any constitutional change during the War. The League offered its hand of co-operation to work a provisional Government at the centre, provided all the parties agreed to its demand of self-determination for the Muslims and carrying it out to its logical conclusions. The Government, however, did not take its hand of friendship, but instead tried to weaken the position of the Muslims. Its policy all along has been opportunist. It has failed to do justice to the Muslims in the services and other walks of life.

"A great deal has happened since we last met in Allahabad. Sir Staford Cripps came to India with certain proposals from the British. As these proposals contained a suggestion to give the Muslims the right of self-determination, they did not suit the temper of our Hindu friends. They were, therefore, rejected and immediately withdrawn by Sir Staford Cripps. Since then, there has been a lot of banging and opening of the door, but there has been no change in the policy of the British. The Secretary of State for India has asserted that there would be no transfer of power till there was a perfect agreement between the two parties. As Congress has been declared an unlawful organisation it has no legal recognition. The question who are the two parties in the country has been left unanswered. We still await, Sir, for further elucidation on this point.

### League's Triumph

"We have watched the League making steady progress and rising to its present stature. The recent successes of the League in various Provincial bye-elections are evidence enough of the support that it has secured. Today, Sir, we are proud to say that out of the five Muslim Provinces, in four, League Ministries have been established while we are looking forward to the time when there will be a League Ministry in the fifth as well.

"Pakistan has become an article of faith with the Muslims and for its establishment they are prepared to make every sacrifice that they may be called upon. You, Sir, have offered to abide by the decision of the Muslim plebiscite. Let the issue be decided by the plebiscite and let their decision be final. The voice of the electorate is expressed in the Legislature through its representatives. The decision of the Sind Legislative Assembly was the true expression of the opinion of the Muslims of that Province. Can there be any doubt in the mind of any that Pakistan is the demand of a hundred million Muslims of India ?

"We are living in the presence of history. Destinies of nations are being made and marred overnight. Who knows what fate has in store for us ? No power on earth can for long ignore the demand of a hundred million Muslims. However, in this transition period we must now draw up a programme and decide on a line of action that we propose to take in Pakistan.

"It is not the function of a political organisation to have educational, industrial and social programmes, but, Sir, this organisation, as the sole representative of the nation, has many intellectual and spiritual thinkers in its fold. It is for this organisation to chalk out a programme

dealing with the commercial, educational, industrial, political, religious and social problems of the nation. The present system of education is faulty, inasmuch as it separates the religious teachings from other forms of learning. The teaching of theology has been left over exclusively to a particular class of men who have no interest in academic education. We must now move with the current of time and introduce a system of education in keeping with Islamic culture, philosophy and religion.

### **Need for New Ideas**

"In this age of industrialisation the world is moving at a great speed. We Muslims must keep pace with it. Our Hindu friends are taking full cognisance of the situation, and are making good all chances and opportunities, while we Muslim are still living in the present with the glory of the past. We must discard our false plumes and march with time. In our Pakistan we have plenty of natural resources and virgin soil. The time has come for us to turn our attention to them. We must make sincere efforts to industrialise these areas, and turn our faces towards the professions of our ancestors. By deliberate false propaganda it has been hammered into us that we have no capacity for business. This is mere deception and falsehood. There were times when Muslims had their trade connections all over the world. We still have the capacity to work and ability to organise.

"We must also, Sir, give serious thought to the introduction of a programme of social reforms and uplift. We must broaden our outlook on life and must encourage free thought.

### **Women's Uplift**

"Uptil now we have been keeping our women in the

background and have treated them as a burden. No nation who keeps half of its population in the background can ever hope to achieve a fair status in the world order. We must give our women education and training on bases of Islamic culture and philosophy to enable them to share our political ideals and aspirations and bring up our future generation free from the handicaps and difficulties that we are facing today. In this dark hour of our history, Sir, we look up to you to organise us and to guide us to the path of realism and glory.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I once again welcome you to this historic city of ours. The Reception Committee has made every endeavour to make your stay as pleasant as possible. I am conscious of the shortcomings in their arrangements, and I, therefore, must apologise to you. Owing to the present day conditions, they have had to labour under extraordinary difficulties. I, therefore, request you to overlook their shortcomings. I thank you for your forbearance and indulgence.

"I take this opportunity to thank my friend, Ghazi Anwar-ul-Haq, to whose untiring efforts and hard work we owe this Pandal. I also thank our Salar-e-Azam, Mirza Mohammad Abdullah, who has organised the National Guard in this province within a very short time. In the end, I thank my friend, Mr. Wahid-ud-Din Ahmad, for discharging his duties so magnificently and to the satisfaction of us all.

"I now request the Qaid-e-Azam to take the chair and preside over our deliberations."

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## MR. JINNAH'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"Delegates of the All-India Muslim League, ladies and gentlemen :

"I thank you heartily for having once more elected me as the President of the All-India Muslim League. It is an honour that to-day any man may envy and covet. I hope in the coming year I shall be able, with your co-operation and support, to guide the course, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. In the first instance I would like to give you a report and tell you what various developments have taken place so far as the internal affairs of the All-India Muslim League are concerned.

### Bengal

"Ladies and gentlemen, in the course of this one year since we met last at Allahabad, there is not the slightest doubt that the Muslim League is moving from strength to strength throughout India (cheers). In Bengal you know that we had suffered for the last sixteen months. It was our misfortune that even amongst our own ranks our own people were made the spearhead of treachery who betrayed the Muslim interests (applause). I think it is now settled beyond doubt that during the last 15 months Muslims of Bengal have organised themselves in a manner which they had never before, at any time in the history of Bengal (cheers.) They were persecuted and the Chief Minister, I am ashamed to say, was a Mussalman. (Cries of 'shame, shame') Ladies and gentlemen, if I were to give you an account to what extent this Ministry headed by Mr. Fazlul Huq stooped you would not believe it. No decent human being can ever stoop to the foul methods he adopted. (Cries of 'shame, shame'). But I congratulate the Mussalmans of Bengal (Cries of 'hear, hear') and in this I give a very great share of the credit to the Muslim youth of Bengal who stood the racket. (Cries of 'hear, and cheers). Well, we had a pointer some months

ago in the Natore election. The candidate that was put forward by our opponents against our candidate, I am happy to say, forfeited his security and in every bye-election we won and in the last one in the Upper House, we won cent per cent. This tyranny, this persecution, this manoeuvring, these machinations in utter disregard of elementary principles of justice and fairplay were resorted to by an organised Government headed by Mr. Fazlul Huq. Thus we have gone through the crucible of fire in Bengal. And today Mr. Fazlul Huq is no more and I hope for the rest of his life he will be no more. (Cries of 'hear', 'hear' and loud cheers). He often said that if he was a hindrance, he was willing to go. But he never went (laughter). I say with all due deliberation and with all responsibility that he was not only a hindrance but a curse to the politics of Bengal. He was a curse to the Mussalmans because he betrayed us; he was a curse to the Hindus because he served them as a puppet and their creature. He has met his Waterloo (laughter). Let him now remain in St. Helena and repent for the rest of his life and pray to God so that He may forgive his sins.

"Bengal has therefore shown that there is no room for duplicity. Bengal has set an example from which others may learn a lesson (Cries of 'hear', 'hear' and loud cheers). It is now the voice of the League, the voice of the People, it is now the authority of the *Millat* that you have to bow to; though you may be the tallest poppy in the Muslim world (renewed cheers.)

"I am glad,—although I do not think that we need indulge in great exultation,—that the Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. The Chairman of the Reception Committee very rightly announced that the Muslim League Ministry or the dominant Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. Similarly the League has now formed a Ministry in Bengal and so on

Sind and the Punjab. But now while we approve of it, do not run away with the idea that we have won and that is all that we wanted. This is only the starting point (cheers) and it is not that we are ready and willing to make all sacrifices for the Ministries; we expect the Ministries to make all the sacrifices for us (loud cheers). So long as the Ministries remain within the orbit of the fundamental principles and the policy of the League they shall certainly have our support. But I want to make it once more clear that the time has now come when we shall not hesitate to withdraw our support from any Ministry that does not follow the League principles (cheers). I have told you about Bengal.

### **Sind and N.W.F.P.**

"Now let me tell you that you will find that in Sind today,—believe me, I am not exaggerating—almost 99 per cent of the Mussalmans are with the League (cheers) and the League is being organised there in a manner which really if you were to follow you would not believe how this progress has been made. In the North-West Frontier Province—it is the only Muslim province which remains today under section 93—my information is,—and it is based on very reliable sources,—that within the last 16 or 18 months the Muslim public is entirely with the Muslim League. This information is based not on our agents or other people, but it is based further upon the testimony of foreign correspondents who have been there and examined the situation.

Similar is the position in the Punjab. But I regret to say that the Punjab has not yet played the part that it ought to play and is entitled to play; because, remember, the Punjab is the cornerstone of Pakistan; and I particularly appeal to the delegates from the Punjab—people are alright in the Punjab—when they go back, 'please'—I won't say anything more—'please substitute love for Islam and your Nation, in place of sectional interests,

jealousies, tribal notions and selfishness (cheers.) For, these evils have overpowered you and you are being ground down for the last 200 years. But I see a light—a very bright light. Because, I say, when I went to the Punjab in November last, throughout my tour it really made me happy to see that the solid body of the people were all right and sound. My appeal is to the leaders—and we have got very able men, very capable men—if they were to make up their minds, I feel confident that within six months the face of the Punjab would be changed. Well I have told you roughly and in some way what the position of the League in these majority provinces is.

### Minority Provinces

“Do not forget the minority provinces. It is they who have spread the light when there was darkness in the majority provinces. It is they who were the spearheads that the Congress wanted to crush with their overwhelming majority in the Muslim minority provinces. It is they who had suffered for you in the majority provinces, for your sake, for your benefit and for your advantage. But never mind, it is all in the role of a minority to suffer (cheers). We of the minority have suffered and are ready to face any consequences if we can liberate the 75 millions of our brethren in the North-Western and Eastern zones.

“We have got a great deal to do. Of course it has now been made clear as to what we are struggling for. Anyone who now pretends that he does not understand, well, what shall I say? he is a fool or a dishonest man. Our goal is clear, our demands are clear. What is that we want? We want to establish independent states in those zones which are our homelands and where we are in a majority. In other words, we do not want to be in union with those zones where the Hindus are in a majority and the Mussalmans are in a minority. Now let me give you



some idea of the background of the movement in India for the independence of India.

### A Retrospect

"Ladies and gentlemen : In the first instance the Act of 1861 and the Act of 1884 gave a very small kind of representation to the so-called Council of the Governor-General. If you will remember, a small beginning was made of elected representatives being sent either to the Imperial Council as it was then called or the local Councils, or to other municipal or local or district boards in the country. The result of the working of the Act was—I am not exaggerating—that it was not possible for any Mussalman to get elected. Then came the Minto-Morley proposals in 1907, the first time when seriously this elective principle was going to be enlarged or increased. At that time the Mussalmans, who had learnt by experience from 1884 downwards right up to 1907, made a demand for separate electorates. Mr. Gokhale, who was a great Hindu,—and I was quite a young man at that time and who had learnt at the feet of that great man,—and Dadabhoy Naoroji naturally came to imbibe certain principles, one of which was that we must try to bring an equitable adjustment between these two major communities in this land. Mr. Gokhale at that time championed the cause of the Mussalmans, with his liberal and broad-minded statesmanship, and he was a tower of intellect, and this is what he said in 1907 :

'Confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority, Muslims are naturally afraid that release from the British yoke might in their case mean enslavement to the Hindus. (This is not a fear to be ridiculed). Were the Hindus similarly situated as are the Muslims in regard to numbers and other things, would they not have entertained similar misgivings ? We would undoubtedly have felt the

same fears and adopted the identical policy which the Muslims are adopting today.'

"It is men of the character of that great Dadabhoi Naoroji that inspired us with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment. But remember, even at this period signs were there that there was a section which was dreaming in terms of Hindu Raj. I give you one quotation from a prominent Hindu leader—Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. You will see that even as far back as 1913 that was the definite aim of a large section of the Hindus. This is what Mr. Pal says in May 1913.

"National differentiations among us, therefore, have not been based upon territorial demarcations only, or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture. Under the Muslims we had, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, one common government, but that did not destroy the integrity of Hindu culture. We took many things from our Mohammedan neighbours, and gave them also something of our own, but this interchange of ideas and institutions did not destroy our special character or our special culture. And that special character and culture is the very soul and essence of what we now understand as Nationalism. This is by no means a mere political idea or ideal. It is something that touches every department of our collective life and activity. It is organised in our domestic, our communal, our social and our socio-economic institutions. In fact politics form, from some points of view, the least important factor of this nation-idea among us. The so-called free political institutions of Europe might, indeed, hinder, instead of helping the growth of our real national life; while under conceivable conditions, mere political subjection might not be able to touch even the outermost fringe of that life.'

"Then he goes on :

'The Nationalist Movement in India, which so far is essentially a Hindu movement, stands :

'I. Ideally, for (1) Hindu Nationalism, (2) Federal internationalism' (3) Universal Federation.

'II. Practically for (1) the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilisation, (2) the promotion of sympathetic and reverent study of other world cultures, e. g. Christian and Islamic, representing the composite of modern India, and the cultivation of the spirit of mutual understanding and the helpful co-operation with them, (3) the continuance of the British connection through the gradual building up of a Federal constitution for the present association called the British Empire, a Federation in which India and Egypt shall be equal co-partners of Great Britain with Ireland and the British colonies. (4) The advancement of Universal Federation.'

"He stands for what ? Hindu Nationalism. But as I say, undaunted, hope sprang almost eternal in my heart and soul, derived from Dadabhoy Naoroji. I was not going to give it up, but nourish it. After the Karachi session of the Congress in 1913, I redoubled my efforts. What happened ? Those of you who remember it, know, it was our set purpose to remove this misunderstanding. There were many others who were a pillar of strength amongst the Mussalmans as well as the Hindus who made great efforts. I was the arch-culprit in this mission. I therefore tried and succeeded to get these two organisations—the Congress and the Muslim League—to meet at least in one city. That was in 1915. It was after laborious efforts that I got them together in the city of Bombay. At that time as it happened, the war was on and it was

expected that the Government would make some declaration of policy on Constitutional reform in this country. Our friends the British at that time—even today I don't think they have given up this game—did not want that these two organisations should meet in the same city,—leave alone under one roof. You know, ladies and gentlemen, that that session of the All-India Muslim League at its first meeting was broken up under the very nose of the police. We asked the Government to hold an enquiry as we felt that it was with the connivance of the police and with the support of the bureaucracy that the meeting of the Muslim League had been broken up. I do not want to go into details. It is a matter of history. I want just to skip over those events and give you the background. They saw through that and we were not far wrong. At the end of the next year, that is, in December 1916 the Congress and the League again met at Lucknow and there we signed, sealed and delivered the Lucknow Pact, known as the Hindu-Muslim Lucknow Pact. But that Pact was mutilated by the British Parliament in various ways. After that came the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms declaration.

### Enter Mr. Gandhi

"It was in 1916-17. While this was going on, came Mr. Gandhi on the horizon. Let us see what happened. Mr. Gandhi puts his declaration in *Young India* on the 12th of May 1920—You will remember that in this same auspicious month of May Mr. B.C. Pal had made his declaration seven years ago—and what does Mr. Gandhi say? :

'It will be seen that for me there are not politics but religion. They subserve religion.'

"You will see later what Mr. Gandhi has done in pursuance of his declaration. He says further :

'The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake, from which one cannot go out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with this snake, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends in politics by introducing religion into politics.'

"Let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, he has done that with a vengeance, as you will perceive when I go further. In 1921 after he captured the Congress at Nagpur he said in *Young India* on 12th October, 1921.:

'I call myself a Sanatani (orthodox) Hindu because, firstly, I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in Avatars and re-birth.'\* Ultimately he himself became an Avatar, (laughter and applause).

'Secondly, I believe in the Varnashrama Dharma (the law of the caste system) in its Vedic forms.

'Thirdly, I believe in the protection of cow as an article of faith, and fourthly, I do not disbelieve in idol worship.'

"He says in a milder form 'I do not 'disbelieve in idol worship.'

"In spite of these declarations which are so clear and unequivocal the Hindu Nationalists got a little nervous about it. They did not know that here is a man, a far-sighted, shrewd man. So there was a little apprehension and nervousness and in order to reassure them, this is what he said in 1924:

'It has been whispered that by being so much with the Mussalman friends, I make myself unfit to know the Hindu mind. The Hindu mind is myself. Surely, I do

not live amidst Hindus to know the Hindu mind when every fibre of my being is Hindu.

'My Hinduism must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse.'

"And yet, ladies and gentlemen, you will remember that when I expressed my desire to meet him as a Hindu leader he resented it and yet he says, 'every fibre of his being is Hindu' which means that his Hindu mind is impregnable. This was in 1924 (applause).

### 1925 And After

"Ladies and gentlemen, from 1925 onwards, as you know, many efforts were made for the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim differences. Every time we were the petitioners, the supplicants standing at the doors of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, with our proposals formulated. For some reason or other the reply was "No". They never made any counter-proposals. You remember, we formulated in 1927 at Delhi some proposals. Somehow or other, fortunately or unfortunately, those proposals were substantially accepted by the Congress at Madras at the end of 1927. Therefore the communal settlement was brought about and two committees were appointed, by the Muslim League and the Congress, to make jointly a political demand. Let me tell you that when these two committees met, it was Mr. Gandhi who smashed it up (cries of 'shame', 'shame') and the Nehru Report was started contrary to the resolutions of these two organisations and after the two committees had actually met but dissolved. So we were forced to withdraw our proposals.

What happened next? Then came the Nehru report. You know the history of it. I shall only tell you what Maulana Mohamed Ali said about the Nehru Report. He was an independent man. Some of the Muslims in the

Congress had suffered more than anybody else. This is what Maulana Mohamed Ali says :

“ In the days of the rule of the East India Company the Government street-criers use to announce the dual sovereignty of India before notifying any Government notice, proclaiming the formula, namely, Khalq Khuda Ki—Mulk Maleka Ka—Hukm Company Bahadur Ka (the people belong to God, the country belongs to the Queen Victoria, and the Government belongs to the Company Bahadur. (Laughter).

‘But under the proposed regime of the Nehru Scheme of Mr. Gandhi, the Government street-criers will announce the new dual sovereignty of India by declaring the formula, namely, Khalq Khuda Ki—Mulk British Ka—Hukm Mahasabha Bahadur Ka—(The people belong to God, the country belongs to the British and the Government belongs to the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur).’ (Tremendous applause)

“Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in 1930 Maulana Mohamed Ali, who had worked, suffered and made sacrifices, along with the Congressmen, says :

‘ Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the submersion of Muslims. He has never consulted the Muslim community on the question of starting the Civil Disobedience movement. He wants to triumphantly pass over the head of the Indian Muslim community. We have not broken any pledge, pact or treaty. We are not traitors to India. The Mussalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last ten years, but Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn

Hindu terrorism against the Muslims. He never denounced the movements of Shudhi and Sanghatan which openly and clearly aimed at the annihilation of Muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke the Madras Hindu-Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Quranic teaching, namely "If you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers." ' (applause).

"Now we come to the Second Round Table Conference to which Mr. Gandhi went for the first time as the sole representative of the Congress. What happened there? All attempts for a settlement were again smashed up by him very clearly and with some excuse or other. You will find in Dr. Ambedkar's book that one of the conditions that he imposed upon the Muslim delegation in London was that he would be prepared to agree to our proposals on the express condition that we, the Muslims should oppose the scheduled castes asking for any kind of separate electorates or special treatment. In other words, Mr. Gandhi did not want special treatment to be given to the scheduled castes. Now I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, how is it possible that any man, who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, of fairplay, of justice, to agree to this, that these 60 millions, who are the biggest blot on the fair name of India, should be kept as untouchables at the mercy of the Sanathanists, Mr. Gandhi being one? I assure you, in the name of humanity, I care more for them than for Musalmans. (Cries of 'hear, hear' and cheers.) After all, we, Musalmans, are capable of giving and taking (cheers.) After all, we, Musalmans, are not so offensive and absurd as laid down by Mr. Gandhi.

"The second condition was that you Muslims agree that you will fight for the freedom of the country. Am I so degraded as to accept such a condition? I want the freedom of the



people of this country more than anybody else (Cheers). It looked as if Mr. Gandhi had the monopoly for the love and the freedom of the country. (A voice, 'He does not want freedom.') The thing naturally broke down.

"When the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference met, this is what Mr. Gandhi said—and the real thing that was at the back of his mind always came out at the critical moment, in a roundabout way. He was addressing the Minority Committee and Mr. Macdonald was presiding. He said :

"Further you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. The solution of the communal tangle can be the crown of the Swaraj Constitution and not its foundation. Our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen, by reason of the foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom."

"What did Mr. Macdonald say? Even the Prime Minister was provoked to such an extent that he spoke out. Whatever may be said about Mr. Macdonald, he had really a very soft corner for the aspirations of India. This is what he said to Mr. Gandhi :

"Be honest and face the facts. The Communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not exist? I do not answer. I leave you honestly to answer it for yourselves and to yourselves.

"Then if the communal problem does exist, how can it be discussed with a view to settlement, either in India or here? At the foundation of any progress towards the setting up of an Indian constitution lies the problem of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on."

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### Gandhian Institutions

"That closed the chapter of the Round Table Conference. What happened then? I will tell you very briefly. Mr. Gandhi put up the following institutions :

1. "The Gandhi Ashram" (Monastery) at Sevagram, Wardha. (To serve as the Vatican of Gandhism and the capital of the Congress).

2. "The Gandhi Seva Sangha". (A small body of nine Gandhian Cardinals or High Patriarchs who form the permanent Inner Cabinet of Gandhi and Gandhism).

3. "Gandhi Harijan Seva Sangha" (To consolidate the Depressed Classes as integral part of Hinduism and to prevent their conversion to Islam or Christianity).

4. "Gandhi Hindi Prachar Sangha" (To propagate Hindi as the state and national Sanskritized language of India and to displace Urdu from its place of primacy and popularity).

5. "Gandhi Nagri Prachar Sabha" (To propagate the idea that all Indian languages should be written in Hindi Devanagari Script and to displace Urdu Script).

6. "Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha" (Village Welfare League to preach and propagate Gandhian principles in the villages).

7. "Gandhi Khadi Pratisthan" (To preach the cult of the spinning wheel and Khadi or hand-woven cloth which is worshipped as a fetish).

8. "Gandhi Wardha Talimi Sangha" was also later organised to propagate Gandhian principles of religion, spiritualism, national economy and nationalism through a State-controlled system of compulsory primary education. Under the Wardha Scheme the entire system of education of the country was sought to be made subservient to the propagation of Gandhism (which was only

a new form of Hinduism to the exclusion of all other religions).

9. "Gandhi Gow Rakhsha Sabha" (Cow Cult Association).

"Mr. Gandhi is a great believer in the Hindu Cow Cult—the worship of the cow as a Goddess. He has, therefore, made the Gow Rakhsha Sabha and Cow Exhibition as an adjunct of the Congress.

"The Gandhi Seva Sangha is the Mother Superior of all these associations. (Laughter.) Mr. Gandhi addressing the Gandhi Seva Sangha says :—

"Spheres of action of these associations are limited. But yours is unlimited. Yours is a mighty tree of which these various associations may be called branches."

"This is how he addressed his Mother Superior. Not only that, but you will find that he appointed certain Deputies. Besides dividing the whole sub-continent of India into three definite Parliamentary zones and appointing three Parliamentary Zone-Dictators like their Nazi counterparts of District Fuehrers, he has also gradually developed permanent Deputy Mahatmas in almost all provinces and zones. These Deputy Mahatmas are the confirmed Cardinals of Gandhism, believers in the Gandhian principles and Gandhian Dictatorship and carriers of his message, and executors of his orders. For instance the permanent Secretary of the All-India Congress Office is "Acharya" Kripalani, a great exponent and theorist of Gandhism and author of the famous article "The Gandhian Way." "Kaka" Kalekar is in charge of the Gandhian programme of Hindi and Nagri. Mr. Mashruwala is in charge of the Grand Council of Cardinals of Gandhism—the Gandhi Seva Sangha. Mr. Arya Nayakam and Mr. Kumarappa are in charge of the Wardha Education Schemes. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh,

the Deputy Gandhi of Bengal, is in charge of Khadi Pratisthan and the Gandhi Ashram in Bengal. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Deputy Gandhi of Bihar, is in charge of the Sadaqat Ashram in Bihar. The Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar, is in charge of the Hinduisation influences and emasculation of the martial Pathans, the bugbear of the dreamers of Hindu Raj. (Applause.) He is in charge of the Gandhi Ashram in N. W. Frontier. Sardar Patel is the Deputy Gandhi in Gujerat, and Bombay. Shankar Rao Deo is the Deputy Gandhi of Maharashtra. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, another theorist and exponent of Gandhism, is the Deputy Gandhi of the Andhra Province and so on and so forth.

### Gandhi, Hitler, Musso

‘It is not my testimony. I am going to give you the testimony of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India National Congress that took place at Tripuri. At that time the organisation had developed to a very great extent. I want the people to understand the facts and then come to their own conclusions. This is what Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, said :

“Our Congress organisation can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists ; Russians have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four-anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The

Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi."

"Now we are repeatedly told by this organisation in India that the Muslim League is a communal organisation. It is the Hindu leaders who have deliberately and with a set purpose destroyed any possible chance of adjustment between these two communities by well-planned and systematic manoeuvres and by organising themselves. And then they call it nationalism, nationalism, democracy, democracy.

"I ask you "is this nationalism, is this democracy ? (Cries of No, No from all corners.) When we say 'No,' we have this experience for the last 25 years and unimpeachable evidence. But we have heard and felt hurt when in vain they say, 'You have destroyed it'. You talk of nationalism and democracy. Either they can't understand or they are dishonest. Don't they understand it when we say that the Parliamentary system of democracy is not suited to the genius of this country ? Surely it is obvious. It is not a question of democracy as a foundation of popular representative constitutional government.

### Give Up This Pose

"We have made it clear that there cannot be any room for democracy when you have a nation working on these lines. Not only have we evidence ; but we have suffered and experienced that. When you talk of democracy, you are thoroughly dishonest. When you talk of democracy, you mean Hindu Raj, to dominate over the Muslims, a totally different nation, different in culture, different in everything. You yourselves are working for Hindu Nationalism and Hindu Raj.

"Ladies and gentlemen, we learned damocracy 1,300

years ago (cheers). It is in our blood and it is as far away from the Hindu Society as are the Arctic regions. (renewed cheers). You tell us that we are not democratic. It is we, who have learned the lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty? We are for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception which will turn the whole of India into a Gandhi Ashram (loud cheers) or one society and nation will by its permanent majority destroy in another nation or society in permanent minority all that is dear to the minority.

### Give Up This Pose

I give you these facts. I say, give up, give up this pose. You have made your bed. You may lie on it. Have your Hindu Nationalism; have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you God-speed. But I am not going, as long as there is life left in a single Mussalman, to have this Hindu Raj. The Irish Nationalist leader Redmond met Carson, Ulster leader, and told him, "Look here, can't we come to some settlement. Why do you want to separate from Ireland?" Mind you, there is not one millionth part of the differences between the peoples of Ulster and Ireland." What was Carson's reply? "I do not want to be ruled by you". My reply to Mr. Gandhi is, "I do not want to be ruled by you". (Cheers).

"That is the position. I only appeal. If only my humble voice can reach Hindu India, I appeal to them, "Give up this pose. You want freedom for the people of this land. I say not only for myself but for the Mussalmans to give up what seems a boyhood's dream of some of the Hindu leaders and what has been their manhood's. You have failed. Thank God, you have failed. Let us close that chapter. Even nations who have killed millions of each other—which we have not yet done—

who may be the bitterest enemies today may become friends tomorrow. That is politics. If your leaders are on this path, as I say they are, and if you do not approve of it, it is your responsibility, the responsibility of the Hindu public, to come forward and say "stop this internecine war: declare a truce; let us sit as equals and come to a settlement". That is now the problem. I ask you—I may be wrong—how can you keep on saying that it is the British Government who has kept us apart? How can you go on singing this same song—I am not holding any brief for the British Government, (applause). I shall have to say something about them when I come to it.

"I am trying to reason with my own people in this land. It serves no useful purpose to say that the British are not wanting an agreement between us. Of course, I grant that the British take advantage of our folly. But we have devices of our own, which are better than any which the British can fashion to keep us disunited. When we have had this notice million times that it was the policy of the British in India to divide and rule, why can't we unite and get the British out? Why can't we do it in spite of them? Therefore, I say, it is no use appealing to other nations of the world (applause).

"The different nations of the world can only show us sympathy in our demand to be free and self-governing. They will, of course, do whatever they can. But what is the use of appealing to other nations to settle our affairs? How can anybody do it? Are they going to run the government here? Are they going to send representatives from America to your parliament and see that your parliament is carried on properly? Will any other country send members to your Legislature and see that the Legislature functions properly? If they do then we are exactly where we are. It will be your representatives, it

will be your Cabinet that will be functioning. Therefore, I say, that our destiny is in our own hands. Specially when obstacles are put in our way, it is all the more reason why we should come to an agreement in spite of them.

### Nehru's Double Role

"Now we come to recent events. I do not want to add anything more than our resolution with regard to the proposals that Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Although the final decision of the League was taken after the Allahabad session, you know the reasons and grounds, and I do not want to take up your time and repeat them. Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals were not acceptable, of course, to us and to the Congress for different reasons. So far as the Congress is concerned, even from his last speech that Mr. Gandhi made it is clear that he was not only opposed to the Pakistan scheme but considered that it was a sin. He cannot use a stronger word if you know Mr. Gandhi. Mind you, it is not a crime, it is a sin, that is, you will be damned in this world as well as in the next if you talk of Pakistan. While it was given out that the Cripps' proposals were not acceptable to the Congress—I know nothing of what actually happened between Cripps and Congress—so far as the public are concerned, it was said that the proposals were rejected on the grounds first of veto and then the Defence portfolio. Well about the same time when this controversy was going on between Sir S. Cripps and the Congress, Pandit Jawarlal Nehru in an article sent by wireless to America and which was published in the New York 'Times' of July 19, 1942, says :

"Thirty years ago the British Government introduced the principle of separate religious electorates in India, a fatal thing which has come in the way of development of political parties. Now they have tried to introduce the



idea of partitioning India not only into two but possibly many separate parts. This was one of the reasons which led to bitter resentment of the Cripps' proposals. The All-India Congress could not agree to this."

"Was it on the question of veto or was it on the ground of defence portfolio? Or was it that the All-India Congress was not agreed to any idea of Pakistan. To this country is given one version and to America another! (applause). Americans are propagandists themselves. But I think they must realise and fully realise that there are no better propagandists than the Indian National Congress.

### Civil Disobedience

"Well, after that you come to Individual Civil Disobedience. Not for any political purpose but it was only for the freedom of speech. Now what liberty of speech do you want?—liberty of speech to preach and to advocate in every possible way to prevent war effort? I think even if it was our own Government, if I had any say in the matter, and if an organisation, the most powerful organisation in the country, with all its resources wanted to be let loose to preach against war effort I would not tolerate it. I would put them in jail. But if it was a conscientious objector I could understand that. How can you expect any Government much less a foreign Government to allow this to be carried on? Let us take a commonsense view of it. Was it really intended to vindicate freedom of speech or was it intended not only to prevent war effort but also to embarrass and coerce the British Government, to concede their demand?"

"In the meantime Mr. Gandhi was saying that he would never launch his Civil Disobedience movement because it would be suicidal. But mind\*you, Mr. Gandhi said, he was never going to launch the Civil Disobedience movement because it would be against the wishes of the Muslim

League. He was saying for the last 22 years that he lived for Hindu-Muslim unity and that it was the sole aim of his life and without Hindu-Muslim unity they could never achieve freedom. In July last year when he struck upon a new technique, an entirely new technique, it was not then suicidal to ignore the Muslim League and whether the Muslim League comes in or not. He revised his declarations of 22 years that there could be no Swaraj, no freedom without Hindu-Muslim unity. It is all thrown to the wind suddenly, when Mr. Gandhi lays down the policy and programme in the famous resolution of 8th August. What is it? "Quit India". Look at the enormity! Don't care, don't care what these 100 million people of this country have to say! I am going to bend this Government to surrender to my desire! The British said—and mind you, I don't take everything they say to be correct—they said: "It resisting the Congress we are really protecting you and safeguarding your interests, because if we were to surrender to the demands of the Congress it would be at your risk and sacrifice." But the Mussalmans say: "We don't believe that you love us so much." We know it suits them and they are taking the fullest advantage of the situation because if there is any agreement between Hindus and Muslims then they know the net result of that would be parting with power. They say they are too anxious to part with power but we do not agree in uniting. If we cannot secure power as a united India then let us take it as a divided India." (Cheers)

### Cockpit of Feud

"Now let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, and here I tell you, if my humble voice reaches the Hindu public to carefully consider whether I am right or wrong. I can put it as frankly as possible. The British policy in this sub-continent has been for nearly

100 years based on their conviction that the Muslims and Hindus will never agree and if by some means or other they enter into an agreement by their influence or pressure, then it will be nothing but a cockpit of feud beneath the umbrella of United India with the Englishman on the top. Therefore the Britisher with his farsighted vision has followed a policy and taken us on this line of united democratic India—I don't think they have given it up yet—the line of united India and democratic supremacy system of Government. The Britishers know that if we are kept on—that is the only way for them to prolong their lease of supremacy—line and are allowed to frame a constitution as a democratically united India we would never come to an agreement without their arbitration. When you have quarrelled and broken each other's heads then the monkey will come in to do justice between two cats. (Laughter). That is the reason why there being a strong diehard British school of thought, our friends who happen to be at the head of the Government of India today—the great man Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy" and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India—who are of *pucca* diehard brand are still dangling the carrot before the donkey by saying that geographically India is one. The other great man in London has suddenly discovered that historically India was united under Akbar." (Laughter).

"My friends, I have no ill-will against the Hindus. I want you to know if by any miracle you can come to a constitutionally united democratic India, we can only do so, so far as British India is concerned."

### Indian States

"Let me tell you that the Britishers know that we

will have to get over another hurdle—the biggest hurdle—namely, the Indian States. You will find so many hurdles—1, 2, 3 and 4. You are asked to get over these hurdles and the last hurdle is the most difficult one to get over. You may think as much as you like. The policy that the British Government have pursued for nearly 100 years leads to this. Not only they have somehow or other made you miss the bus but they have put you in the wrong bus. (Laughter.) Now do not allow yourselves to be bamboozled and fooled any longer. It is nearly a century. I say to the Hindus—and the Britishers know it better than anybody else—that the quickest way for the freedom of the peoples, both Hindus and Muslims, is Pakistan. (Cheers.) It may come in my life-time or not. (Cries heard from all corners, 'It will'). You will remember these words of mine, I say this with no ill-will or offence. Some nations have killed millions of each other. That is not permanent. An enemy of today is a friend of tomorrow. That is life. That is history.

“So I say this, with a clear conscience. My profound regret is that it is the Congress and its Hindu leadership that are holding up the achievement of freedom of both the Hindus and Mussalmans. Our conscience is clear. I appeal to the Hindu public and Hindu leaders: Review, revise your policy. Lot of propaganda, false propaganda, is being carried on by the Congress.”

“Most of it is by the Communist Party at present, The appeals and statements they have published are fundamentally wrong. The Congress position has been this from the start up to August 8—that the policy and demand for Pakistan is untruth. In his correspondence with the Viceroy Mr. Gandhi had forgotten to mention this point altogether, and hence he puts this in postscript. “The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August resolution

asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware, the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly."

### " Am I Wrong ? "

"This is Mr. Gandhi's language. The whole crux of this proposal is that he wants such a Government as will be responsible to a duly elected assembly. I ask you: What is left if this is carried out? Is there any doubt that Lord Linlithgow will be immediately turned into a constitutional Governor-General or he might get a kick. The India Office will be abolished: the office of the Secretary of State will be abolished and the British Parliament will have no say in India. This central constitution can only be brought into effect by repealing the present Constitution completely and substituting another. If I am wrong I shall stand corrected. Once the present central foundation structure is gone the surrounding provincial structure cannot last. What about the provinces? Are they to remain under the Governors? Are they to remain under the present Constitution? Therefore you must overhaul, repeal the present Constitution and undertake the framing of an entirely new Constitution for the whole of India including Indian States. We are asked: "What is wrong in that? Pakistan is only to be postponed." The answer is that the moment you accept and undertake this position on the basis of Mr. Gandhi's proposal, the Pakistan demand is torpedoed by our consent and the framing of a new constitution on the lines suggested by Mr. Gandhi would lead to the bitterest controversies if any such attempt were made—to say nothing about who was to be authorised to frame such

a constitution. Therefore the position of the Congress is exactly the same as ever. Only it is put in different words and in different language but it means Hindu Raj on Akhand Hindusthan basis—the position which we can never accept.

### **Suggestion to Gandhi**

“Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans. If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? (Cheers.) He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is the use of going to the Viceroy and leading deputations and carry on correspondence. Who is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi today? I cannot believe for a single moment—strong as this Government may be in this country—you may say anything you like against this Government—I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me. (Loud cheers and applause.)

“It will be a very serious thing, indeed, if such a thing is done by the Government. But I do not see evidence of any kind of change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Congress or the Hindu leadership.

I am told that we should do something. As far as my information goes, there is no change. What are we to do? When I was invited to the so-called no-party conference, I said to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar that I did not want to attend the conference and I gave my reasons for it. I do not want to attack them in any way. I do not want to create any unnecessary bitterness. We know, of course, that they have no following—but they are men who occupy some position in life, men who have some experience—may be, they are our political opponents. But once they were in the forefront, in the vanguard of the

political movement in the country. These gentlemen could have adopted a more effective method of tackling this question than the resolution they passed and the procedure they adopted. But great men also make mistakes. Mr. Gandhi gets all the information, all the newspapers and knows and understands what is going on. If there is any change of heart on his part, he has only to drop me a few lines, when, I assure you, the Muslim League will not fail, whatever may have been our controversies in the past. (Tremendous applause and cheers.)

### The Hardest Nut

"Now I come to the Britishers. They are the hardest nut to crack. What is their position? Their position is this. The Congress is a rebel organisation. It is guilty of high treason. They are the enemies of the Government and the Crown. Therefore no truck with them. They are only one party. But the overwhelming majority of the people of India is not with the Congress, but are with the British Government. What do the recent statements of the Premier say? What do the press in London say? The *Sunday Chronicle* in a leader says: "Prime Minister Churchill's message praising the gallantry of the Indian soldiers will find an echo in the heart of the British nation." Where is the echo? Mr. Churchill went into mathematical figures, and he made out that the overwhelming majority of the people of India were not with the Congress. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, there is not the slightest doubt, we have kept aloof and, thank God, we have kept aloof because we are between the devil and the deep sea. As I said earlier, I am not satisfied with the British who say that they are fighting the Congress to protect us and the interests of the minorities. They say they are ready and willing and in fact are dying to part with power. The Viceroy made such references

during the Christmas week at Calcutta. Having declared the Congress as an outlaw, what do the British say to others. They say: "How can we ignore Congress?" In that case, don't you see that nobody is going to believe you; but by your own admission, you are proclaiming that your anxiety, your desire, your ardent desire to move in the direction of handing over power provisionally, has been successfully held up by a rebel organisation—the Congress. It is a confession of failure on their part. Either the peoples of India are at the back of the Congress or they are not. If the overwhelming majority are not—as the 100 million Mussalmans are certainly not—then what is the answer to the rest of India? They say, "We can't do anything because this rebel organisation has paralysed us. We can only praise your services when you die on the battlefield and no more." Is that an honest attitude?

"From the attitude can anyone believe that there is a real honest desire to transfer power? Times out of number we have made it clear. But we are ignored; our party is ignored because it suits them. We are, on the contrary, accused of not helping the war effort and we are very often threatened by this very Government that "those who are not with us are against us." Now I say, ladies and gentlemen, so far as the Muslim India is concerned so far as we the Mussalmans are concerned, our cup of bitterness is reaching the brimful.

"If they have got any honest and capable agents they ought to be kept informed in London. I once more draw the attention of the British Government to this fact. It is a very serious situation indeed and I inform them from this platform that the cup of bitterness, disappointment—not to use any stronger language—at the shabby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them



(Cheers.) You cannot continue like this. Therefore reconsider your position. What is our demand? Make a declaration. The Muslim League calls upon the British Government to come forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they will abide by a verdict of plebiscite on the lines of the resolution passed at the Muslim League session in Lahore in 1940.

### Attitude to War

"The Muslim League has been ready and is still ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government at the Centre in order to mobilise the resources of the country for the purpose of defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war. This resolution was passed at Bombay on August 20, 1942. That has been so far completely ignored. Now we are, in this war, kept in the position of mere spectators. I have said it once and I say it again on this occasion that whatever may be our views and opinions, there is not the slightest doubt that—a fact is a fact—India is in the war. Being in the war, whose interest is greater now? Is it more in the interest of the Britisher or is it in the interest of the United Nations who are in it, like America; or is it more in our interests that we should not be reduced to mere helpless spectators by one device or the other, by one manoeuvre or the other, by one excuse or the other, and keep the 100 millions as they are to carry on without their co-operation? They are making a great mistake. They are not out of the wood yet. Let me tell you as I have said very often: Our American friends can go to New York or Chicago if they are beaten and the British can go to London. And further I can say that their country is not going to be ruled by Hitler or Mussolini or Mikado. That

to my mind is inconceivable. It may happen that America may be reduced to a second rate power after the war. That is the danger. But their danger does not go to the length that their country would be ruled by any other foreign power. What is my position? It is this. If this war is lost there is no other power. Either Japan or Hitler will come to this country and we shall come under the jackboot of Hitler or Tojo. I have no Chicago or London to go to. What about us? Who is more interested to defend this country and prosecute this war—it is not a sentimental thing—I say, nobody more than we (cheers). It is we who will suffer the ravages of war and destruction and emasculation of our homes and hearths in Muslim zones on the east and west, which are the immediate targets of the enemy. Who is more likely to lose, who is more likely to suffer than we? Who is more interested in defending India? It is thoroughly dishonest for the British to say that we are non-co-operating and it is more dishonest to say that we are not co-operating. The Muslim League says, "We cannot co-operate because you want us to come in as mere camp-followers. What are the prospects for me? What will be the fruit of victory for us, when we have given our money, our blood and everything? If we are defeated Japan or Germany will come. If we win we are just camp-followers and may get a 'bakshshi' in the end. Is this an incentive to co-operation? Can any honourable, self-respecting or organised nation accept that position? (cries of No No). That is the picture. Therefore either they have blundered and are blundering or really they do not want to part with power. They are taking the chance as a gambler does, saying to themselves, 'if we win, we will keep them where they are. If we lose then after us the deluge! Apres moi's L' deluge.'

### **Muslims and Pakistan**

"I do not want to say anything more about Pakistan.

There is no difficulty in understanding Pakistan. Even outsiders have understood it. Again it reminded me of Gokhale when Major Yeats-Brown in his new book says: "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers." Here is the passage from his book.

"Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers. We, the British, would consider ourselves aggrieved if some world-improving superman or super-government were to decree that we should be ruled by an All-Europe Government (no doubt with safeguards) with Teutons as the dominant race—or Slavs if you prefer—because we were a minority in Europe."

"Then he says further: 'Even if this super-government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom, we should submit to it only just so long as we had not the strength to throw off the shackles. And if the supermen showed signs of doubting their own decisions, yet continued to asseverate before the world that they had offered freedom to all Europe, that it was now incumbent on us to find a solution of the difficulty, we should reply, as the Muslim League has, that such freedom was a farce.'

"May I add here that Mr. Gandhi, the superman, precisely wants Akhand Hindustan, and Muslim India cannot and will not agree to this demand. What would the Englishman say? Will he then say: 'Smaller nations cannot exist. We are in a small island; only 35 million people. They are our Teuton brothers. The Germans are 86 millions.' If a proposal was made that they should have one Government would the Englishmen agree? What is the difference between an Englishman and a German? To begin with they are of the Anglo-Saxon race and all Christians. Their dress is not different. Their calendar is not different. Their language and jurispru-

dence and culture are not very much different. Their architecture, art and music and civilisation are not different. But what would an Englishman say? What would Canada say, if tomorrow a proposal was made that Canada and the United States should become one federated Government and Canada to become one of the units. Then what about others—North America and South America? America is geographically one. So is Europe. So is Asia. What would they say if such a proposition were made? Therefore Major Yeats-Brown says very rightly, "put yourselves into Muslim slippers. Even if the Government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom we should submit to it just as long as we did not have the strength to throw off the shackles." The Muslim League would however consider such a freedom as a farce. (Cheers and applause).

### **Hindu Conception of Freedom**

"This is what is required to be considered by the Hindu leaders. The freedom they are offering to us is the freedom of their conception, the freedom of their determination, the freedom of their rule which is a farce (cheers). Well therefore there is no difficulty in understanding. First of all we have got to settle the basis. Do you want to really create some confusion and get some material for the purpose of propaganda? I have no doubt in my mind that a large body of us visualise Pakistan as a People's Government. Either you seize it by force or get it by agreement. But until you get it, whether it is from a foreign nation or whether it is from our own Government, the question as to the constitution and the form and system of a Government does not arise. Let us take the Revolution of France. The party that wanted to break the Government had to have a Constituent Assembly after they seized the country. Take the

case of Australia. That happened by agreement. Let us first agree that there shall be two Indias. Then the constitution-making body will be elected by some system from the people and it is the people who will choose their representatives to go to the constitution-making body. Therefore, I visualise a constitution-making body will be set up and based on a very low franchise. It may be two annas, or it may be an adult franchise in Pakistan. You will elect your representatives to the constitution-making body. You may not know your power, you may not know how to use it. This would be your fault. But I am sure that democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrow. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and your arteries are not functioning. But thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the Muslim League's efforts. It will be a People's Government.

### Landlords and Capitalists

"Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them (tremendous applause). The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power today. You go anywhere to the countryside. I visited some villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan? (cries of 'No,' 'No'). Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan I would not have it. (Cheers)! If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them;

we shall not help them. ("Hear, hear," renewed cheer and applause). Therefore let us have faith in ourselves. Let us not falter or hesitate. That is our goal. We are going to achieve it (cheers). The constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the Millat and the people. Prepare yourselves and see that you frame a constitution which is to your heart's desire. There is a lot of misunderstanding. A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be an Islamic Government? Is it not begging the question? Is it not a question of passing a vote of censure on yourselves? The constitution and the Government will be what the people will decide. The only question is that of minorities.

### Minorities' Plea

"The minorities are entitled to get a definite assurance or ask: 'Where do we stand in the Pakistan that you visualise?' That is an issue of giving a definite and clear assurance to the minorities. We have done it. We have passed a resolution that the minorities must be protected and safeguarded to the fullest extent and as I said before, any civilised Government will do it and ought to do it. So far as we are concerned our own history and our Prophets have given the clearest proof that non-Muslims have been treated not only justly and fairly but generously. (Cheers and applause).

"Now one more thing I wish to say about Pakistan. It is this. There is a new propapanda. We had many wicked propagandas like the one cutting the mother cow into two, vivisection of mother India and all the rest. The latest argument, which I think is really very wicked, of all the most wicked, the argument is this: that Mr. Jinnah is working for the territories in the North-West and East zones as 'Pak' and the others "Na-Pak." I have heard this from several quarters—and I was thundere

struck. You know what false propaganda can do. I think you will bear me out that when we passed the Lahore resolution we had not used the word 'Pakistan'. Who gave us this word? (Cries of "Hindus"). Let me tell you it is their fault. They started damning this resolution on the ground that it was Pakistan. They are really ignorant of the Muslim movement. They fathered this word upon us. 'Give the dog a bad name and then hang him.' They shouted Pan-Islamism. When this was exploded, then came Pakistan means alliance with other Muslim countries—Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey—and they will grind down Hindu India. That is the deep game they are playing. You know perfectly well that Pakistan is a word which is really foisted upon us and fathered on us by some section of the Hindu Press and also by the British Press. Now our resolution was known for a long time as the Lahore resolution popularly known as Pakistan. But how long are we to have this long phrase? I now say to my Hindu and British friends, 'We thank you for giving us one word.' (Applause, and cries of 'hear, hear').

"What is the origin of the word Pakistan? It was not the Muslim League or the Qaid-e-Azam who coined it. Some young fellows in London, who wanted a particular part of north-west to be separated from the rest of India, coined a name in 1929-30, started the idea and called a zone Pakistan. They picked up the letter P for Punjab, A for Afghan, as the N.W.F.P. is known even today as Afghan, K for Kashmir, S for Sind, and Tan for Baluchistan. A name was coined. Thus whatever may have been the meaning of this word at the time it is obvious that the language of every civilized country invents new words. The word Pakistan has come to mean the Lahore resolution. We wanted a word and it was foisted on us and we found it convenient to use it as a synonym for the Lahore resolution.

### Loose Federation

"We are told by some constitutional Pandits, Why can't there be some sort of loose federation or confederation? People talk like that. I shall read out to you what I have written on this point because it is important : —

"There are people who talk of some sort of a loose Federation. There are people who talk of giving the widest freedom to the federating units and residuary powers resting with the units. But they forget the entire constitutional history of the various parts of the world. Federation, however described and in whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of the authority in all vital matters. The units, despite themselves, would be compelled to grant more and more powers to the Central Authority until in the end a strong Central Government will have been established by the units themselves ; and they will be driven to do so by absolute necessity, if the basis of a Federal Government is accepted. Taking for instance the United States and her history, the Dominions of Canada and Australia, the Union of South of Africa and Germany and of other lands where federal or confederal systems have been in existence. Necessity has driven the component members and obliged them to increase and delegate their power and authority to the connecting link, namely, the Central Government.

"These ideas are based entirely on a wrong footing, due to want of correct understanding as to what really Federation means or implies. It is not of much importance whether the units in theory have the residuary powers or the Centre. But once the units accept the basis of a Federal Central Government, it follows that it will inevitably and out of sheer necessity resolve itself into an all-powerful Central Authority and the units will be compelled to grant and delegate more and more



powers to the Centre, which also can hold these units as connecting links, more or less like a country council or glorified municipalities or feudatory states under the central authority.

"We are opposed to any scheme, nor can we agree to any proposal which has for its basis any conception or idea of a Central Government—Federal or Confederal—for it is bound to lead in the long run to the emasculation of the entire Muslim nation, socially, educationally, culturally, economically and politically and to the establishment of the Hindu Majority Raj in this sub-continent.

"Therefore, remove from your minds any idea of some form of such loose federation. There is no such thing as a loose federation. When there is a Central Government and Provincial Governments they will go on tightening, tightening, and tightening until you are pulverised with regard to your powers as units.

### **S. African Bill**

"Well, gentlemen, I think I have exhausted most of the points. There can be no doubt that the recent communal Indian Legislation in South Africa is the blackest of the black. That it should have been undertaken at this critical moment when, on the one hand, every unit of the empire is asked to contribute to the war efforts and Indians are considered good enough to shed their blood and to stand side by side with white men or even to pick them up when they have fallen on the battle field and save their lives. But on the other hand this badge of the horrible colour bar is the reward for one of the members of the commonwealth who are contributing their share in blood which it is acknowledged and praised duly.

"I am astonished that the Secretary of State for India when he was asked in Parliament should say that he has no statement to make, while the whole of India was

condemning this bill including even the Government of India, which is an agent of the British Government. Can we not learn a lesson from this with regard to our internal political controversies?

### Indian States

"There is one other point. Recently another unfortunate thing has come to my notice. Things were not at all well in Indian States. I shall name only some of the States, Kashmir, Gwalior and Kotah. It seems to me that it is most unfortunate and I appeal to those States, where the Hindus are in the majority and where there is real Hindu power, to set a better example. Similarly I shall advise those Muslim Rulers where the Mussalmans are in the majority that they should treat the minority communities fairly and deal with their legitimate grievances suitably. It is not the way we will deal with the problem of India that wherever you happen to be in the majority you should wreak your vengeance or bitterness over the minority; you would be nearer the solution of the problem if you protect the minority. I hope that some satisfactory solution will be arrived at. I shall be equally grieved if the Muslim power or Muslim majorities will ill-treat the Hindu minorities.

"There remains finally one thing. I say to the Mussalmans we have gone for nearly 7 years through various vicissitudes and we have reached the stage, where there is not the slightest doubt that the 100 million Mussalmans are with us. When I say 100 million Mussalmans, I mean that 99 per cent of them are with us—leaving aside some who are traitors, cranks, supermen or lunatics, an evil from which no society or nation is free. The way in which I see them now is that the phoenix-like rise and regeneration of Muslim India from the very ashes of its ruination after the terrible destructions in India in the 18th and the 19th centuries is a miracle (cheers). The people who had lost everything and who were placed by provi-

dence between the two stones of a mill not only came to its own in a very short time but became, after the British, socially the most solid, militarily the most virile and politically the most decisive factor in modern India. (Loud cheers).

"Now it is time to take up the constructive programme to build up this nation so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan. It is for you all to put your heads together, you Council of the All-India Muslim League, and undertake proper and systematic planning, I can only repeat once again, for the educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift of the nation. We as a nation have got to attempt this constructive programme. I hope you will be able to do it. In the meantime I will only conclude by saying: The goal is near, stand united, persevere and march forward." (Loud and prolonged cheers, and cries of 'Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad,' 'Pakistan Zindabad,' 'Muslim League Zindabad,' etc.)

## SECOND SITTING

The second sitting of the thirteenth session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at 10-30 p. m. on Sunday the 25th April 1943. The pandal presented a gala appearance with long parallel rows of brilliant lights. The gathering had lost nothing of its magnitude or enthusiasm as compared with the first sitting. National Guards again were active in controlling the large crowds seeking admission into the pandal through the different gates. The number of delegates and members of the All-India Muslim Council had increased since the first day's sitting. Some European and American correspondents were also present.

Clad in Moghul *angrakha* of white muslin, Mr. M. A. Jinnah entered the pandal at 10-30 p. m., conducted

in a procession headed by the Sind band which played a highland tune.

Amidst cheers which were vociferously responded to by the gathering verses from the Holy Qurān were recited. Poems were recited by Mr. Anwar Qureishy and a number of others.

Some of the couplets which particularly evoked appreciation were :—

“Look at the vivacity of his face in this old age,

“Our old man is again becoming young.”

“May our Mighty Leader live long.”

“This prayer is constantly on our lips.”

“The sagacity of the Qaid-i-Azam has proved effective, some of our chains have been broken.”

### Presentations

Mr. Yusuf Abdulla Haroon, All-India Salar of the Muslim National Guards, made announcements of presentations and donations offered to Mr. Jinnah which were received with cheers. The well-to-do among the gathering vied with one another in making higher bids for the articles auctioned.

Mr. M. A. Manzoor of Ahmedabad presented to Mr. Jinnah two framed portraits of Mr. Jinnah one of which was knocked down to Mrs. Khurshi Khanum Jairajbhai for Rs. 2,500, and the other to the Nawab of Mamdot for Rs. 2,200. A map of Pakistan, embroidered on silk, which was presented to Mr. Jinnah, fetched Rs. 3,600, and it was bought by Mr. Mumtaz Doulatna, who was recently returned to the Punjab Assembly unopposed.

A beautiful shield, with the map of Pakistan in silver

and gold and Mr. Jinnah's portrait at the top, was presented to him by the students of the Muslim School, Gorakhpur, and it was retained by Mr. Jinnah.

Messrs. Dawood Yaqoob and Sons, Amritsar, presented Mr. Jinnah with a garland of 15 currency notes of Rs. 100 each. He also presented a similar garland worth Rs. 500 to the Nawab of Mamdot, President, Punjab Muslim League, which was in his turn presented by him to Mr. Jinnah.

Donations of Rs. 5,000 each were made by Sir Maratab Ali, Shaikh Nasir Ahmed of Lyallpur, and Nawab Allahyar Khan Daulatana of Luddan. Mian Mohkamuddin donated Rs. 1,000. The largest of the donations amounting to Rs. 11,500 was from an anonymous contributor.

### SECRETARY'S REPORT

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League then read the annual report :—

"Last year when the All-India Muslim League session was being held at Allahabad, Sir Stafford Cripps was in India exploring possible avenues for the settlement of the Indian question. Many were the hopes entertained about this mission of Sir Stafford's and in many quarters fears were expressed that he would leave India, as best, as he found it.

"The mission of Sir Stafford was a failure. The Congress rejected the proposals because they envisaged, though indirectly, the right of self-determination to Musalmans. Sir Stafford could not agree to the preposterous demand of the Congress for the transference of power to that party. The Muslim League could not but reject the offer inasmuch as it did not satisfy the demands of the Musalmans for Pakistan as envisaged in the Lahore Resolution. The

Cripps offer was supposed to be final without any possibility of amendments or alterations thereon.

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the various aspects of the offer from the 27th March to 21st April, 1942, and talks took place between Qaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah and Sir Stafford Cripps. Finally the Working Committee passed a comprehensive resolution on this subject and made the position of the Musalmans clear with regard to their attitude towards the offer.

"Sir Stafford Cripps had a great deal of confidence in the leaders of the Congress with whom he had very good acquaintance and it was with the hope that he would be able to persuade them that he undertook the arduous task of coming over to India. No Englishman ever returned to his country more disappointed than Sir Stafford. The Congress was not able to camouflage its real intent of acquiring power for the Hindu nation from the British. The Congress, as has been proved by various pronouncements of Sir Stafford, is aiming at substituting Hindu power for British power in India. Later events have vindicated the position adopted by the Muslim League.

### Political Deadlock

"The rejection of the Cripps offer brought about a deadlock in Indian situation. The failure of the mission disappointed Sir Stafford no doubt—probably the disappointment in Congress circles was greater. For, the Congress never expected Britain to recognise even partially the validity of the Muslim claim. When Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar found that National Government could not be established in India by the Congress alone, he did what a far sighted statesman was expected to do and advised the Congress to secure the support of the Muslim League for

the demand of a National Government. In his own way he found there was justice in the Muslim claim for Pakistan.

"On the other hand the effect of the failure of the Cripps Mission on Mr. Gandhi was quite different. Frustrated in his attempt to secure by legitimate means the surrender of power to Hindu hands, he advised the Congress to start a campaign of civil disobedience which advice was accepted on the 8th August. That was the signal for a series of unpleasant events. On one side the Government arrested and incarcerated the Congress leaders. On the other hand disturbances took place in various parts of India. Non-violence was honoured more in the breach than in the observance. The disastrous effects of the reign of terror that lasted for sometime are better imagined than described.

### **Qaid-i-Azam's Lead**

"This period was one of anxiety to Musalmans also. They understood the implications of the various Congress moves. They are as freedom-loving as any other people. The Congress slogan "Quit India" had its own appeal; but the discipline among the rank and file of Musalmans was praiseworthy. The Qaid-i-Azam gave them a splendid lead and tore the veil of Congress pretensions and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on the 16th August clearly defined the Muslim attitude towards the most important problem of the day.

"It is to the everlasting credit of the Musalmans inhabiting this vast sub-continent that they followed his lead with commendable discipline and set an example for future generations to follow.

"The British Government had to concede that the Muslims, as a body, kept themselves aloof from the subversive activities of a misguided section of the Indian population.

This attitude of the Musalmans also served to prove to the whole world that the Congress speaks for itself alone and not for the millions in India and that the Muslim nation is entirely against it.

### **British Truculence**

"In spite of this, the British Government has not acted justly in dealing with the Musalmans and still looks to the Congress, which has been described as a rebel organisation, for settlement of the Indian question. In the Bombay resolution the Muslim League once more proved its claim to be the only representative organisation of the Musalmans of the sub-continent and its voice is the voice of the Musalmans.

"A further test of Muslim solidarity was offered when it was said that the Musalmans are willing to co-operate whole-heartedly in the war effort if it was declared that after the war a plebiscite of the Musalmans would be taken to decide about the future constitution of India and if that plebiscite were in favour of Pakistan to grant it.

"The Muslim League offered its co operation to parties who were willing to accept this condition in the formation of a Provisional Government and it was prepared to enter into negotiations with other parties on the above condition. Mr. Gandhi could have expressed his views on this in his correspondence with the Viceroy. But it is to be regretted that in his letters he has shown that he has not deviated from his old policy. The Muslim League, against whom the doors of Congress and the British Government were banged, could do nothing to bring about better conditions.

### **Defence Committees**

During this period full of so much danger to the country the necessity was felt taking some steps for the



protection of the life and property of the Mussalmans. In the Allahabad session powers were given to the President to form a permanent committee for this purpose. Very soon thereafter a Muslim Defence Committee was formed consisting of Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan (Chairman), Choudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Sir Nazimuddin and M. Qazi Mohamed Isa. This Committee toured round India and travelled 15,000 miles under the hot summer sun. During this tour Defence Committees were established in every Province and according to the needs of the Provinces suitable arrangements were made for the protection and defence of Musalmans.

"These Provincial Committees under the instructions of the the Central Committee undertook expensive tours and formed District Committees which are all working satisfactorily and carrying out the programme of the Central Committee.

"The number of the National Guards has considerably increased and they are being trained for defence purposes. The public are being educated in the methods that should be adopted when in danger. Efforts are being made for the supply and conveyance of foodstuffs to areas where such supply is difficult.

"The good work done by the Muslim Defence Committees has created confidence not only among Muslims but also among non-Muslims. The Muslim League Defence Committees were very helpful in organising and disciplining the Muslim masses and in getting them exempted from the punitive tax which had been levied in various places. In certain places the Muslims are being employed by the Government for the protection of railway lines against sabotage which is causing great hardship to them. The attention of the Government has been drawn several times to the fact that as the Musalmans as a whole have kept themselves aloof from Congress activities they

should not be subject to this humiliation. But it is regretted that nothing has been done in this matter.

### League Solidarity

"The Muslim League's activities and organisation are being carried on satisfactorily in all provinces and the Muslims throughout the length and breadth of this sub-continent are becoming more and more alive to their position.

"During the year there were six by-elections to the Bengal Legislative Council, which were contested and won by the Muslim League candidates. It is significant that one of the candidates defeated in these elections was a Minister. There was a by-election to one seat in the Bengal Assembly in which the Muslim League candidate defeated his opponent who had to lose even his deposit. This proves that the Muslim League today is the strongest party in Bengal, which has further been proved by the resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq from Premiership. In one by-election to the Central Assembly also a Muslim League candidate was elected.

"It is very gratifying to note that in the Province of Sind a Muslim League Ministry has established itself and is working very enthusiastically according to the policies and programmes of the All-India Muslim League. In the Punjab there has been a Muslim League Party; but during the last few months this Provincial Muslim League has organised itself very efficiently and is doing a great deal of good work.

### "Dawn"

"The Muslims were suffering under a great disadvantage for lack of a first class English daily to espouse their cause. It was, therefore, considered expedient to convert the weekly "Dawn" into a daily which came into existence on the 12th October 1942. During this short period of its life this paper has gained considerable popularity and

ranks among the best English papers in India. Muslims have welcomed "Dawn" with great enthusiasm ever since its publication as daily. Although owing to the restrictions on the consumption of newsprint etc., we are able to give less number of pages and have been compelled to raise the price, it is my ardent desire that Muslims must subscribe to "Dawn" in larger numbers as it is their National Organ.

### RESOLUTIONS

Nawabzada Lihqat Ali Khan moved on behalf of the Chair two resolution of condolence on the death of Sir Abdulla Haroon and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and they were passed by the audience all standing.

Then the resolutions passed by the Subjects Committee were taken up for consideration.

#### "Pegging" Bill

The first resolution, on the Anti-Indian Bill in South Africa, was moved by Mr. Z. H. Lari.

"Though we are occupied in solving our own problems," Mr. Lari said, "we cannot be indifferent to the lot of our brethren who happen to be settled in other lands." Mr. Lari then proceeded to narrate the hardships and sufferings of the Indians in South Africa, since 1913. General Smuts, he said, went about praising the gallantry of Indian soldiers and the sacrifices they were making in the cause of freedom and democracy. But when it came to doing justice to Indians his professions were belied.

Explaining the significance of the resolution, Mr. Lari demanded that the provisions of the Reciprocity Bill should be invoked by the Government of India in retaliation.

"We may not be able to retaliate now," said Mr. Lari. "But the time is not far off," he added, "when we shall be powerful enough to take retaliation."

Supporting the resolution, Sir Raza Ali, in the course of a flowery speech, studded with beautiful and appropriate couplets of poetry, said that the tale of woe of South Africans was a long one.

Sir Raza Ali proceeded to give details of the insufferable hardships of Indians in South Africa. Referring to the shamelessness of the White people in preaching democracy while practising the reverse of it by ill-treating coloured people, Sir Raza Ali said, "In olden days people felt ashamed of their sin but now they are exulting over it." If Field Marshal Smuts were present here, Sir Raza Ali said, he (the speaker) would have said to him, "Do not prolong the story of the purity of your skirt; only look at your skirt buttons."

Referring to Field Marshal Smuts the speaker said: "There is hardly a man whose reputation is so low in his own country and so high in other lands as Field Marshal Smuts." Sir Raza Ali grew very satirical when he spoke of Field Marshal Smuts.

The Government of India made a mistake, said Sir Raza Ali, in that they did not try to secure the right of vote for Indians in South Africa.

Concluding, Sir Raza Ali prayed that Indian may grow powerfull enough to fight back, when such unprovoked attacks are made on their honour.

The resolution was passed unanimously. It reads:-

"This session of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal) Bill passed by the South African Parliament, and makes it clear that if the Bill is assented to by the Crown, it would lead to the gravest breach between Indian and South African peoples and will go to sap the foundation of the future of the Commonwealth of Nations, and urges upon the British Government to intervene in the matter immediately.

"It is the considered opinion of the session of the All-India Muslim League that the only solution of the Indian problem in South Africa is the enfranchisement of Indians settled there. The session therefore calls upon the Union Government to refrain from enforcing the Bill, convene a Round Table Conference between the Government of India and the Union Government and arrive at an amicable solution of the situation which has arisen.

"The session therefore urges the Government of India that in case the Union Government fails to convene a Round Table Conference immediately and enforce the Bill, they should examine the position with a view to bringing into operation forthwith some of the provisions of the Reciprocity Bill recently passed by the Indian Legislature."

### Food Situation

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed moved the resolution on Food.

Sir Ziauddin said that the Government had no courage to face textile interests and cotton piecegoods were being sold at abnormally high prices while the scheme for 'standard cloth' has been in the making for the last two years.

Coal was another article in the control of which the Government had greatly bungled particularly because consumers' interests were never consulted. As for food-grains, the Government controlled the prices without controlling the supplies. The system of distribution was equally defective. If the present condition continued, he was afraid the worst sufferers would be the Musalmans and the poorer classes in India. It was bound to weaken the home front.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Hoosain Imam. He said that the Government was completely divorced from public opinion. The prices in India have risen much more

steeply than in foreign countries. The businessman was only actuated by the profit-making incentive and not by human feelings. The price of standard cloth had been increased by 25 per cent even before the cloth had been placed on the market.

He regretted that Government had not effectively dealt with the profiteers and industrialists in the same way as they had dealt with the political agitators.

The resolution was passed. Its text is as follows :

"Whereas the Government is responsible for the supply of the necessities of life to the people of India especially during war time when the movements of merchandise are controlled entirely by Government ;

Whereas the market disparity between prices fixed by the Government for their own purchase and the prices at which the civil population is forced to buy the same articles is against all sound theories of economics and leads to corruption, black market and exploitation of the the people;

"Whereas the policy of the control as devised and practised by the capitalists, traders and manufacturers in the name of the Government has failed to achieve its purpose, and is encouraging hoarding and abnormal profiteering and causing miseries to the people in general and the poorer classes in particular, the Muslim League urges on the Government of India the necessity of framing the policy of control and distribution of the necessities of life, not so much in consultation with the capitalists and officials, as in consultation with the representatives, of the people, and insuring that

- (i) the necessities of life are made available to the people and not locked up by the distributors;
- (ii) they are sold at reasonable prices providing economic profit to the producers.

(iii) distributors are selected from all classes of people, and (iv) retail shops are opened in every quarter of a town.

"The Muslim League further demands that the representatives of the people—especially of the Muslim—League should be associated at every stage in the planning and execution of the scheme of purchase and distribution."

### Collective Fines

Syed Zakir Ali moving the resolution on collective fines 'vis a vis' the Mussalman said that Defence Committees had been set up all over India before August last. The result was that through the efforts of these Defence Committees Mussalmans were successfully kept away from the Congress movement. The imposition of collective fines on Muslims was therefore absolutely unjustified.

Mr. Padshah supported the resolution and said that in Madras a Mussalman had to prove his 'alibi' before he could be exempted. The resolution was further supported by Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ismail of Bihar.

The resolution was adopted, and read :

"This session of the All-India Muslim League records its most emphatic protest against :—

(i) the imposition of collective fines on Muslims notwithstanding the Government's clear declaration that the Muslims have kept strictly aloof from the subversive movement launched by the Congress and

(ii) the non-exemption of Muslims from the Collective security Orders which have been passed as a punitive measure.

"And demands that the collective fines realized from the Mussalmans be remitted and they may be exempted from the operation of the order regarding collective security and watch and ward."

The session adjourned at 1.20 a. m.

### LAST SITTING

The open session of the All-India Muslim League had its third and last sitting on the night of April 26 amidst scenes of unabated enthusiasm. Mr. Jinnah was in the chair.

The proceedings began with recitation from the Holy Quran. Mr. Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, Salar-e-Azam, All-India Muslim National Guards, announced a number of donations received from all classes of people, ranging between factory labourers to Prime Ministers. Donations of Rs. 1,000 each were received from five persons and of one anna each from two little boys. A number of Students' Federations presented various sums of money to the Muslim League Fund.

### Full Powers to Mr. Jinnah

Mian Bashir Ahmed, member of the Working Committee, moved the following resolution which was seconded by Moulana Khan Bakht Jamal Khan, President, N.W.F. Provincial Muslim League, and Moulana Jamal Mian of Farangi Mahal :—

“Resolved that the President be authorised till the next session to take any step or action as he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects or the Muslim League as he deems proper, provided that they are consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All-India Muslim League.”

Moving the resolution Mian Bashir Ahmed said that there was no need of any long speech.



Supporting the motion Moulana Jamal Mian said :  
 " We have got a Qaid-e-Azam. It is he who made us, and not we who made him " (loud cheers). Proceeding the speaker narrated the services rendered by Mr. Jinnah and said that the Muslim League, Pakistan and the Qaid-e-Azam are inseparable. He made a fervent appeal for support to the Muslim League and its Great Leader.

The resolution was unanimously passed.

### **Sind Martial Law**

Another resolution which was moved by Moulana Abdul Hamid Badaoni related to the injustice in giving retrospective effect to Martial Law in Sind. The resolution was seconded by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan and passed unanimously, and reads as follows :—

"This session of the All-India Muslim League deplores the unjustifiable action of the Government inasmuch as retrospective effect was given to Martial Law and the trial by the Martial Law Court of Pir Pagaro and that he was tried by the Martial Law Court instead of the normal judicial tribunal of the land for offences alleged to have been committed before the introduction of Martial Law in the areas of Sind concerned and that the sentence of death passed against him by such a court was executed."

In a fighting speech, the Moulana condemned the acts of tyranny and persecution of people during the Martial Law administration and recalled the acts of heroism and the sufferings of the Moplahs of Malabar in the dark days of Martial Law there.

The speaker said that Mr. Jinnah had sometimes been travestied as a pro-British man by certain hostile critics, and pointed out the attitude of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League to the Sind Matial Law Administra-

tion as an irrefutable proof of the falsity of the allegation. The Moulana said that the Muslim League will one day work a revolution among the Muslims.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in a brief speech said that the incident depicted an act of injustice.

The resolution was passed unanimously. Resolutions demanding the restoration of the confiscated properties of Pir Pagaro and the immediate withdrawal of Martial Law in Sind were also passed by the meeting.

The Honorary Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat, Ali Khan, through a resolution reconstituted a committee of women for the purpose of propagating the League's programme amongst Muslim women.

The Nawabzada also announced certain amendments to the constitution of the League. The session approved the amendments.

### Main Resolution

Chawdhuri Khaliquzzaman moved the main resolution of the session. It related to the declaration by the British Government of the right of self-determination for the Musalmans.

Chawdhuri Khaliquzaman said that the resolution was self-explanatory. He traced the history of the constitutional deadlock since the beginning of the war 'vis-a-vis' the Congress attitude towards the Musalmans. The Congress, he said, focussed its attention on the future and demanded declaration of war aims and peace aims. The League, on the other hand, declared that it was prepared to share in the mobilisation of the war effort on the basis of equality. Then came the August declaration of 1940, which made it clear that no constitution would be acceptable to the British Government unless it had the approval of the Musalmans.

### Quit India Demand

The Cripps scheme conceded self-determination on provincial basis, which led to "Quit India movement." The suppression of the Congress, has changed the attitude of the British and their spokesmen have started the slogans of "India Geographically One." The Hindus would prefer to rot in jail rather than settle with the Musalmans, meanwhile were becoming stronger. Their Ministeries had been set up in four provinces and would soon be established in the fifth. He made clear that the Musalmans would never accept federation or confederation or any improved constitution. The Mussalmans could not be fooled and did not believe in non-violence.

He challenged the British that they would never be able to impose any federal or confederal constitution on the Mussalmans, nor the Mussalmans would ever go again before the British with a beggar's bowl for concessions.

They would have free Governments in their majority Provinces and would see how the British imposed their will on them. The Mussalman minorities in the Congress Provinces made it impossible for the Congress to govern them without going to jail. They, the Mussalmans, knew the art and could defeat with success any attempt of the British to impose any unwanted constitution of them.

### 'Make Sacrifices'

Mr. Gazdar, seconding the resolution, characterised it as revolutionary. It was clear that no nation got freedom by merely asking for it. He exhorted the Muslims to get ready to make sacrifices, for it was only by sacrifices that they would achieve their goal. The Muslims were not going to beg for their freedom.

The Punjab Premier, amid loud cheers, rose to support the resolution. He said his last statement made at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League was before the public. He assured that the Punjab Muslims were with their brothers of the other Provinces and if any obstacles were put either by the British or the Congress in the way of the legitimate and reasonable demands of the Mussalmans, the Punjab Muslims would not lag behind others in making sacrifices.

He reminded that the Lahore resolution of the League was passed in the land of the Five Rivers.

"Our demand for the right of self-determination is not unjust, and we assure the Hindus and Sikhs and other minorities that they need not fear the usurpation of their sights and claims."

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan (Madras) further supported the resolution. The first part of his speech dealt with the progress of negotiations during which the Muslim League made its demands from the Government and the Congress. The Congress summarily rejected their demand, and made the claim to speak for whole India. The Congress denied the Muslim right of self-determination. "The British had changed their tune after they had put the Congress in jail. They have not shown any response to the Muslim demand. On the other hand recent indications have created apprehensions among the Mussalmans that some form of federal constitution was under contemplation for India.

Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhuri (Assam Minister) further supported the resolution. He said the Congress movement of August last was not only against the British but was also against the Mussalmans of India, whom the Congress wanted to dominate. The Mussalmaus kept

aloof from the Congress movement. The resolution demanded of Mussalmans to stand on their feet. It declared Muslim opposition to any imposed constitution and he assured the session that they would have the full support of Assamese Mussalmans.

### **A Separate Nation**

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan (N.W.F.) further supporting the resolution said that the Musalmans were a separate nation and were entitled to their homelands.

The Muslims were for free India and free Pakistan. It was their birthright and they shall have it. The cup of Muslim patience had overflowed and the result was the resolution. They, the Musalmans, should lose no time, and like Turkey of today should organise themselves in every village and town to face the danger.

Moulvi Latifur Rahman (Bihar) supporting the resolution said that their religion was the bond which could not separate Mussalmans from Musalmans. He assured the audience of the full support of Bihar Mussalmans to their efforts to win Pakistan.

Maulana Akram Khan, President, Bengal Muslim League, gave full support to the resolution on behalf of the Mussalmans of his province. He said that the time for begging for Pakistan had passed by. The time for grim determination and organisation of the Mussalmans had arrived in order to achieve their goal of Pakistan. If, according to the Koran, one was killed for his ideal, he became "Shahida" martyr. He said that the colouring of the map into Pakistan and Hindustan would soon disappear as every country belonged to the Mussalmans because "every country belonged to God."

Mr. I.I. Chundrigar from Bombay said there was no

need of a speech on behalf of the Bombay Presidency from which the Qaid-e-Azam came. He said the Muslims did not envisage "non-violent non-cooperation" to fight the imposition of a form of government detrimental to their interests, but would adopt methods which had been employed in the past for winning freedom.

### Ultimatum to Government

Qazi Isa Khan (Baluchistan) said that the resolution was not simply a reiteration of the Pakistan demand but it was a further step towards their goal. The resolution demanded solid work. It was an ultimatum to the British Government because the Muslims knew that their non-Muslim brethren were powerless to give anything to them. The power was held by the British and the ultimatum was therefore directed to the British. He appealed for mutual resolution among the Mussalmans to show that they were ready to fight and die for their ideal.

He said he had full confidence in the capacity of Muslims. He derided H. E. the Viceroy's reference to "India's geographical unity" and Mr. Amery's reference to the days when Akbar ruled and said Muslims would be only too pleased to be restored to the position they held in Akbar's days. He said our hand of friendship was extended for co-operation with the British on the basis of equality, but we were not prepared to have any humiliating pact.

To say that the masses of India were with the British Government was a lie. He described the Muslim members of the Viceroy's Executive Council as Quisling, and not representatives of Mussalmans in any sense.

Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf (United Provinces) said that the resolution was the pith of Mr. Jinnah's presidential address. The Muslims wanted the right of self-determi-

nation to be conceded to them and they would oppose all constitutions which denied this.

Syed Rauf Shah (Central Provinces) said, that a living nation was not afraid of death and the attainment of Pakistan by the help of the others was "tantamount to going to hell."

### **Muslim Women Ready for Sacrifice**

Begum Aizaz Rasul (M. L. C., United Provinces) supporting the resolution remarked that it seemed that when all provinces were exhausted it was the turn of the women. In other words the women came last of all.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali interjecting said : "No. Women were dominant in every province."

Begum Aizaz Rasul assured that Muslim women were alive to their share of responsibility and were ready to make all sacrifices. They would resist any imposition of a constitution which went against the interests of Muslims and would assist the men as Muslim women used to help men in times of crisis in the early days of Islamic history.

The Raja of Mahmudabad said that for the Mussalmans the means justified the end and not vice-versa. Sacrifice was incumbent on Muslims, when they saw that Islam was in danger. As the President of the Muslim Students' Federation he exhorted the youth to get ready for sacrifices.

The following is the full text of the resolution :—  
This session of the All-India Muslim League views with concern and grave apprehension the failure of the British Government to make an explicit declaration asked for in the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in Bombay on August 20, 1942, which 'inter alia' says :

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League

note with dissatisfaction the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the national aspirations of 100 millions of Muslims of India. While the Congress aims at ignoring and suppressing the Muslim demand, the Working Committee regret that the British Government have been unresponsive to the Muslim League offer of co-operation. The appeasement of the Congress has been the central pivot of the Government's policy with barren and sterile results and has now culminated in open defiance of law and order.

"Since the commencement of hostilities the Muslim League has been ready and willing, either singly or in co-operation with other parties, to shoulder the responsibility of running the administration and mobilizing the resources of the country for the war effort and for the defence of India if a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces is conceded within the framework of the present constitution; and in pursuance of the policy the Muslim League accepted the underlying principles of the August 1940 offer of the British Government.

### Offer Spurned

"But the Government, in implementing the offer, nullified the essential principles of it and so made it impossible for the Muslim League to co-operate with the Government on honourable terms. In spite of the fact that the British Government had spurned the offer of co-operation of the Muslim League, under the imminent shadow of the Japanese menace the Muslim League once again reiterated their offer by their resolution of December 27, 1941, in the following words:—

"In view of the fact that the entry of Japan into the war on the side of the Axis powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into great prominence



the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed its willingness to share the responsibility of defence of the country as is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November 1939.

"The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces within the framework of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution.

"The British Government completely ignored the offer of the Muslim League. While the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps virtually conceded the Congress demands of the right of secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and forming of a constituent assembly with a preponderantly Hindu majority for the making of the post-war constitution, they merely recognized the possibility of establishing Pakistan supposed to be implicit in the non-accession scheme.

"The Working Committee are definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort with all the sacrifices that are involved in it, it is only possible provided they are assured that it would lead to the realisation of the goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League therefore calls upon the British Government to come forward without further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they will abide by the verdict of a plebiscite of Musalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles

laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in March 1940.

"Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the freedom and independence of the smaller nations of the world, the Working Committee invites the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of 100 million Muslims of India to establish sovereign States in the zones which are their homlands and where they are in majority.

"The Working Committee are fully convinced that Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem and is in complete consonance with justice and fair-play to the two great nations, Muslims and Hindus, inhabiting this vast sub-continent; whereas if the Congress demand is accepted it would bring the 100 millions of Muslims under the yoke of Hindu raj which must inevitably result in either anarchy and chaos or complete strangulation and annihilation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for. The Muslim League, as it has been repeatedly made clear, stands not only for Pakistan and the freedom of Muslims but also for the freedom and independence of Hindustan and Hindus.

### League's Willingness

"The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and successful prosecution of the war provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally.

"Since that resolution was passed the speeches and statements made by responsible British statesmen, both in England and in India, lead to the conviction that not

only the declaration as was asked for will not be forthcoming but that some kind of Federal Constitution, not necessarily on the model embodied in the Act of 1935, is under contemplation.

"This session, therefore, warns the British Government in all earnestness that the imposition of such a constitution will be resisted by Muslim India with all its might, which will inevitably result in strife, bloodshed and misery, the responsibility for which will rest on British Government alone.

"That this Session of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that the attainment of the cherished goal of Pakistan is only possible by the untiring efforts, willing sacrifices and grim determination of the Muslims and they should, therefore, do their utmost to acquire the strength requisite for such an undertaking."

### **New Zionist Propaganda**

The following resolution was put from the Chair and adopted by the session :—

"This session of the All-India Muslim League views with great concern and alarm the new Zionist propaganda and move in the U.S.A. which is putting pressure on the U. S A. Government for exercising its influence with the British Government, firstly to remove all present restrictions on Jewish immigration in Palestine and secondly to adopt the policy of converting Palestine into a Jewish State.

"In the opinion of this session the aim of this new Zionist move is to make Jewish majority in Palestine a *fait accompli* by opening her doors to the Jewish war refugees on the ground of war emergency and persecution of the Jews in Europe.

"This session condemns this new move as a deliberate

attempt to perpetuate a wrong on the Arab and Islamic world at a time when the Arab National Higher Committee of Palestine stands disbanded and the Arab nationalists are at present almost defenceless against organised Jewry and high finance in the world.

"This session, reiterating its demands for the fulfilment of Arab national demands for Arab independence in Palestine and Syria, solemnly warns the British Government against any step or move which may prove detrimental to Arab national interests and declares that such a policy will be bitterly resented by the whole Arab and Islamic world as an outrage on democracy and justice and inalienable Arab rights to their homelands."

### Session Concludes

Mr. Jinnah in adjourning the session declared that there was no map of Pakistan to which the Muslim League was committed, directly or indirectly. They were attempts by individuals to which the League was not committed.

Similarly there was no scheme of Pakistan to which the League was committed directly or indirectly in any way whatsoever except the Lahore resolution. Mr. Jinnah said: "I know many attempts are being made by our opponents to father upon us some scheme or map on the principle, 'hang the dog after giving it a bad name.' I will say give up these futile attempts."

With the approval of the House, Mr. Jinnah announced that the next session of the League will be held in Sind during Christmas.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Delhi session was a historical session held in a historical city and had passed a resolution, which was a turning point in their history. He was glad to say that the session had attracted the biggest audience so far at any session of the League.

Mr. Jinnah adjourned the session *sine die*.

## **WOMEN'S BRANCH MEETS**

Muslim women re-affirmed their faith in Pakistan and assured Mr. M. A. Jinnah of full support, at a meeting of the Women's branch of the All-India Muslim League held in purdah on the evening of April 24.

The President, Lady Haroon, in her speech, exhorted Muslim women to prepare themselves for every sacrifice that may be required of them and asked them to reform their social conditions.

The meeting at the suggestion of Begum Aizaz Rasul, appointed a sub-committee to recommend a programme of social, economic and cultural uplift of women. The Committee consists of Lady Haroon, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Mrs. Kazi Isa, Begum Habibullah, M. L. A., and Fatima Begum.

### **Food Committee**

The session passed a resolution on the housewife's problems and expressed concern at the shortage of food-stuffs and the rise in their prices and deplored the fact that women, who are mostly vitally concerned, had not been represented on various Food Committees. The resolution demanded of the Government to nominate women on Food Committees, in order that the utility of these bodies be enhanced by useful suggestions which women representatives were capable of making in this matter. It was further demanded that separate depots for women should be opened to enable purdah women to buy their daily requirements. The resolution was moved by Begum Aizaz Rasul and seconded by Begum Bashir Ahmed.

### **A.I.R. Language Policy**

The language policy of the All-India Radio was criticised in another resolution moved by Madam Shakilunissa, who protested against what she called "an organised attempt

to thrust high-flown Sanskrit and Hindi words into the language." The resolution demanded religious broadcasts for Muslims on Fridays.

By another resolution, the provincial Governments were urged to order allocation of specified sums in the grants-in-aid to various girls' schools and institutions, for exclusive expenditure on the education of Muslim students, and also to appoint proper number of Muslim Inspectresses.

### **Shariat Bill**

Begum Tasadduq Hussain wanted suitable amendments in the Shariat Bill passed by the Central Assembly in respect of inheritance. She also moved the final resolution calling upon Muslim women to join the women's section of the All-India Muslim League in greater numbers and not to join any other organisation, and thus fritter away the strength of the Muslim nation.

### **STATES MUSLIM LEAGUE SESSION**

The fourth annual session of the All-India States Muslim League was held in Chaman-e-Pakistan on the night of April 24 under the presidentship of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung.

In the course of his presidential address Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung explained the reasons which had led to the establishment of a separate Muslim League for the States. It was not a parallel organisation. On the other hand, should the constitution of the League be so amended as to extend its fold to all States, the States Muslim League would cease to exist. It stood for a single organisation for the Muslims of India. The tale of atrocities on and persecution Muslims in the States was a long one. While Mr. Jinnah had to deal with one constitutional Government the State Muslims had to struggle against numerous arbitrary Governments.

After referring to various difficulties in organising State's Muslims he said the Muslims of British India would get Pakistan as surely as the sun would rise tomorrow. But what about the subjects of the States? There were four factors in India—Hindus, Muslims, the British and the States—none of which ought to be ignored. Small States might disappear in the surging tide of modern ideas of Democracy and Socialistic States. He appealed to the rulers to take a note of this. They ought to understand that happy and contented subjects, especially the Muslim subjects, formed the best bulwark against this tide, for, although one-man rule was not a thing to be enamoured of, yet the Muslims would prefer to be ruled by a just Hindu Raja to being ruled by an antagonistic majority.

He referred to the "iniquities" of the Gwalior and Jaipur Governments towards the Muslims there and regretted that it was so.

### Resolutions

The session passed a number of resolutions concerning the interests of Mussalmans in the States.

One resolution, relating to Kashmir, protested against the "persecution" of the Kashmir Muslim Conference, which was going on with "the connivance of the local authorities", and was "an organised attempt to suppress the legitimate rights of the Kashmir Muslims."

The attitude of the Gwalior Government was resented in another resolution for neglecting the recent representation to His Highness by the President of the All-India States Muslim League, requesting His Highness to concede the demands of the Anjuman Islamia in the State.

A third resolution demanded an inquiry into the firing in the Kotah State.

Other resolutions supported the demands of Muslims in Jaipur, Malerkotla, Kapurthala, Alwar and Palanpur States.

### PRESS COMMENTS.

In a *tour de force* lasting three and a half hours the President of the All-India Muslim League gave a masterly survey of the problems confronting the country and the developments of the last few decades which, apart from its innate justice, vindicates the claim of Indian Mussalmans for freedom in homelands where they are in a majority. An address so Comprehensive and authoritative cannot be dealt with in any brief compass, and Mr. Jinnah had taken care to produce first hand evidence from the conduct and utterances of Congress leaders in the Gandhian period of its existence when it began to sail in a direction not contemplated by the founders of the Congress. Fortunately we have, in the person of the President, a witness of all the endeavours made since 1907 to secure a fair Hindu-Muslim settlement as the basis of modern nation-building, and the causes of their repeated failures. As one who had associations with Dadabhai Naorojee and Gokhale who had wrought for unity, his disappointment, in finding the original course falsified, is bound to be deep but he is in a position to tell us the inside story. Incidentally it is the custom of Mr. Gandhi to speak of Dadabhai Naorojee as his inspirer and Gokhale as his *Guru*, but politically he proved to be nowhere near their conception of reason and justice. The Epicurean would have been cast out of the Garden of Epicurus, because what he practises goes against the austere doctrine of the founder; in a similar sense, is the relationship between Mr. Gandhi's devious politics and the statesmanship of Dadabhai and Gokhale. Mr. Jinnah's narrative about opportunities lost since the advent of Gandhian leadership is painful to picture, but it brings to the fore not only



the misfortune of unwisdom but also the central tendency of Gandhian leadership.

Quoting chapter and verse, the President recalled the occasions when what looked like success became suddenly torpedoed by the Congress tactics of Mr. Gandhi. The quotations from Mr. Gandhi as to his claim of stabilising his religion through the aid of politics are supplemented by proofs of conduct, the most pathetic being his proposal at the Round Table Conference that the Depressed Classes should be denied any special treatment and that if the Muslims would only consent to the deprivation of safeguards for those sixty million human beings beyond the pale, he would consent to what the Muslims wanted for their security. Naturally the Muslims who looked to their protection could not in decency subscribe to the refusal of safeguards for people treated as a sub-human species by Hindu Society. With trenchant relevancy, Mr. Jinnah quoted the words of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald whose name, though anathema to the Congress, has been a statesman friendly to India earning the eventual award of abuse by the Congress. The original mentality with which Mr. Gandhi entered the scene is illustrated by the series of gyrations which he displayed whenever the prospect of an equitable Hindu-Muslim settlements drew nigh, and the story so familiar to one who had been in every phase of the drama, comes as very vivid testimony as to the roots of spiritualised politics and the aims of the multifarious *Sanghs*, *Namathis*, *Sabhas*, etc., whose operations amounted to a deep drive of Hindu nationalism as the all-India objective of India's political advancement. Congressmen are fond of the grievance that there are suffering from "frustration" but in the long tale of frustrations in the quest of Hindu-Muslim unity there are perhaps more ghastly memories to lament. Mr. Gandhi's last effort between July and August was a gambler's throw and the culminat-

ion of a long saga of pro-Hind manoeuvrings to by-pass Mussalmans and dominate them.

Now what is there to be done in connection with the trouble precipitated? Mr. Jinnah tells the No-party Leaders that their patrolling activities are not sufficient and that the "solution" which many of them had dreamt of in their boyhood and aimed at in their manhood should now be left on the debris and a new ideology based on partition and independence for the Hindus as well as the Mussalmans should be accepted without any further flag-waving from behind the ranks of Congress Hindu leadership. For those who had laboured for some sort of settlement and partnership before the creeping paralysis of Gandhism, the advice must mean a wrench with the pet beliefs of the past and a readiness to say unequivocally that error lies where it belongs. Theirs is the failure of a mission, but are they right in criticising Mr. Jinnah? His answer is simple. Though he for his part cannot see any change in the attitude and policy of Mr. Gandhi (who in his correspondence had only defended the course of his action to the Viceroy), Mr. Jinnah would have been delighted to receive any letter from Mr. Gandhi claiming his services. Really that is sufficient opening if Mr. Gandhi means well and if Hindu leadership is prepared boldly to voice their advice instead of attempting listless methods of prayers, cablegrams, lip-sealed deputations, etc. Here Mr. Jinnah dealt with the complaint gratuitously levelled against the Muslim League for apathy, and if responsibility is not shirked it lies with them to assume a definite attitude instead of trying to act as honest brokers between the Government and the Congress, when there is yet very little evidence of intention on their part either to buy or to sell. *Dawn* (Delhi).

True to expectation the 30th session of the Muslim League proved to be the greatest ever held and the

President's speech will go down to history as the most impassioned yet well reasoned presentation of the Muslim case which even the Qaid-e-Azam has so far made. Only those who heard it or who may later read the full version in print can have real appreciation of what he said : summaries can do no justice to an utterance such as this. Nor is comment easy because the Qaid-e-Azam spoke with a clarity which left nothing to subsequent interpretation or annotation. All one can do is to emphasise the importance of it, to warn the enemies of the League of the futility of ignoring the indomitable will of the Muslim nation to be free from both the Hindu and the foreign yokes, and to beg conservative-minded but not unfriendly critics to hug no more their fond illusion about the "unity of India."

The most important factor which clouds a proper understanding of Indian political realities by outsiders, including many Britons who have lived long enough in the country, is the personality of Mr. Gandhi and his motives. He has somehow achieved world fame as a sort of "saint" and although his recent methods have evoked criticism abroad, his purpose is still regarded as lofty and unexceptionable. Foreigners find it puzzling that the Muslims do not align themselves with Mr. Gandhi ideologically, even though they may hold aloof from his political methods. This compelled the Qaid-e-Azam to tell the world the truth about Mr. Gandhi, to expose his real purpose and to explain the methods which Mr. Gandhi has been following in order to achieve his object. There is no doubt about the greatness of the man, his astuteness is not denied, his services to the Hindu political cause have been immeasurable ; but Muslims know that his political aim differs in no way from that of Mr. Savarkar, Dr. Moonje and other avowed enemies of Muslim freedom. The one difference is that

while the latter bluntly claim the whole of India as Hindu property and ask Muslims to submit to Hindu rule, Mr. Gandhi conceals his designs under a camouflage of sweet words and the pretence of "non-violence" even as he professed great love for his "dear friend" Lord Linlithgow while perfecting his plans for an India-wide upheaval, which if they had succeeded might have imperilled the lives of thousands belonging to that "dear friend's" race not excluding himself. This is the brutal truth about Mr. Gandhi which Britons and Americans must learn. It is this pose which Mr. Jinnah has asked Mr. Gandhi to give up. In the language of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, he has asked Mr. Gandhi to be honest. Only then will it be profitable for the two leaders to establish contact. The leader of the Muslim India cannot deal with the leader of the Hindu India on the basis of a dishonest claim that the latter is what he is not.

To the British the Qaid-e-Azam has addressed some hard words. He spoke with restraint as compared with much that was heard among the rank and file. His words should be examined against the background of the Muslim attitude toward the war which he outlined with equal candour. "Facts are facts", he said, and asked Muslims not to forget that British victory was in the interests of Muslims themselves. With the same sense of realism he justified Government measures to defeat the campaign of sabotage and disorder designed to help the enemy. But in spite of so much commonness of purpose on such vital issues the man behind whom India's 100 million Muslims stand solidly today had to be bitterly critical of the British because the British too are adopting a pose. They profess anxiety to give Indians freedom while imposing conditions which they know can never be fulfilled. They describe certain sections as rebels, still they make the freedom of other sections dependent on the consent of rebels. They

accuse Muslims of not helping the war effort, still they make it impossible for Muslims to co-operate except on terms which will impose ruthless Hindu domination on them after the war.

Criticism from not unfriendly quarters has been that Mr. Jinnah has "missed an opportunity." What opportunity? What in concrete terms was Mr. Jinnah expected to do? It is not correct to understand Muslims as asking Britain to "impose" a constitution on India. The League has never said that. What it asks is that Britain should recognise a principle, the principle of Muslim self-determination in Muslim majority zones and then to leave constitution making to Indians themselves in the two zones separately.—"Shahed" in the *Statesman* (Calcutta and Delhi.)

It is not fair, either to Mr. Jinnah or to the Muslim League, to pick up paragraphs out of a speech that took three hours to deliver. In the general criticisms offered by the Press or by public men there is nothing new or constructive, nothing which will solve the staggering problem facing us.

Mr. Jinnah has spoken with bitterness about the attitude taken up by Hindu politicians over at least 20 years. Every effort made for a settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences at the many Unity Conferences has been thwarted on one ground or another. The culmination came when intransigence on the part of the Hindu members from Bengal and the Sikhs, at the Round Table Conference, nullified the joint endeavours of Mahatma Gandhi and His Highness the Aga Khan after a tentative settlement had been arrived at and for the confirmation of which Gandhiji had decided to send a cable to India to call an emergent meeting of the Congress Working Committee.

It is for the majority community to find a solution. Asking Muslims to present their demands and then to pick holes into them with the intention of avoiding a decision was an experience of a most discouraging character. The rigidity shown by men who should have known better was astounding and broke the hearts of Muslims of the highest integrity, and possessing the noblest sentiments of patriotism and inter-communal camaraderie. The behaviour of the Congress Ministries, on assumption of office under the Act of 1935, created consternation among the Muslims, the effects of which are still visible. They became hopeless and sought safety. No effort was made by the dictators of Congress policies to arrest the growing and widening damage. Arrogance instead of accommodation was the practice. Knowledge of law alone and quibbling over the interpretation of its clauses could not build a nation. Statesmanship was lacking. The result was a hash which put a damper over the future. Men steeped in a caste mentality could not conceive of a policy of give and take, a sharing of responsibilities and the necessity of carrying the minorities with them. No government can succeed if it is not prepared to accommodate and satisfy the smaller groups under its charge. It was this unfortunate short-sightedness of the men who spoke in the name of the Indian National Congress which is responsible, more than anything else, for the demand of partition and separate zonal sovereign states. The Muslim at bay could not think of any other avenue of escape from tyranny and oppression. If he is mistaken it is for his Hindu fellow-countrymen to throw away the cloak of the critic and place before him a satisfactory and reasonable alternative. So long this is not done so long will the solution evade us.

This paper was, perhaps, the only one in India, which had understood the Bombay Resolution of the League

Council, adopted on August 20, after that of the All-India Congress Committee of August 8. Mr. Jinnah's utterance has justified that interpretation. The League is willing and even anxious to come to terms with the Congress but on a clear and mutually satisfactory basis. If that is not possible then the League has decided to fight for Muslim rights and the desire of the Muslims to live their own lives, against opposition from any quarter. That naturally connotes a battle on two fronts for Indian Muslims want to be free from British as well as Hindu domination. It is for our Hindu compatriots as much to consider the Muslim position *de novo* as for the present rulers of the country. In the fight for liberty one does not think of success or failure for the fire within him keeps him going. If successful he is a hero; if not he is a martyr. In the general fight for the status of the country in the post-war international world and in the safeguarding of its world-wide economic interests, it will be wise on the part of the majority to carry the Muslims with it. There is still time for such a gesture. Will it be made?

Mr. Jinnah's asking for a letter from Gandhiji may not be permitted but with the thousands of Congressmen still at large, it should be possible for them to think out the broad outlines of a settlement. If it is fair and reasonable Gandhiji and the members of the Congress now in jail must accept it. The war may end suddenly and any day. Delay may not be advisable or advantageous. There may be words or phrases in Mr. Jinnah's speech which may not have been welcome to non-Muslim ears but it has to be admitted that no word or phrase he has uttered could be worse, in volume and bitterness, than those uttered against him. The man has spoken from his heart. He has not minced his words. He means business. He is a better Congress man than many non-Muslims who claim allegiance to the Congress. If Hindu publicists and

politicians do not wake up to-day and capture the League and its President, it may be too late to-morrow.—*Morning News (Calcutta)*.

Contrary to general expectation, there were no fireworks in Mr. Jinnah's address to the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi. There is indeed no reason why Mr. Jinnah should indulge in fireworks. Under his able and astute leadership the Muslim League is steadily growing in strength and flourishing like the green bay tree. Thanks to the mistakes of those who guide the destinies of the Congress, the Muslim League has the political field in India entirely to itself, and it is making good use of its opportunities. Shortly after the outbreak of war the Congress, with almost incredible short-sightedness, gave up its authority in the majority of Indian provinces and went into the political wilderness; it completed this strange act of renunciation by sponsoring a movement which landed its leaders behind prison bars. Meanwhile the Muslim League went on quietly but steadily increasing its influence and its political power. One province after another came under its sway; Sind was followed the other day by Bengal, Mr. Jinnah's biggest prize to date. No one need be surprised if the Punjab were to follow Bengal's example in the near future. Whatever the League's critics may say, one fact stands out beyond dispute: favoured by internal disagreement in India the power and prestige of the All-India Muslim League are in the ascendant.

What is to be done in the meantime to secure that internal unity which all parties, including the British Government, desire? Mr. Jinnah has once again declared his readiness to discuss an agreement with the Congress. He called for a truce to enable the parties to get together. He did not blame the Government of India for taking steps to resist a coercive lawless movement to which both Government and the Muslim League were opposed; in fact



he admitted that the Government of India could not have acted otherwise. What he now suggests is that Mr. Gandhi should write direct to him, just as he claimed some time ago that the key to Mr. Gandhi's freedom lay in the Congress leader's own hands. No one need doubt Mr. Jinnah's sincerity regarding Hindu-Muslim unity and the transfer of power. If the argument is advanced that the course he advocates is not practicable in view of the need for consultation among the Congress leaders, who is to blame for that state of affairs? The Congress leaders had plenty of time to approach Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League before they burnt their boats by passing the "Quit India" resolution. Yet they did not do so, and if they are now at a disadvantage the fault is entirely theirs. Mr. Jinnah, at any rate, has indicated one way out of the present impasse which it would be unwise to ignore. There is nothing to prevent Mr. Gandhi clearing the way for negotiation by withdrawing unconditionally the threat of civil disobedience, under whose grim shadow neither the Government of India nor the Muslims can be expected to conduct peace talks.—*Times of India* (Bombay).

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The 30th Session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi is now over and the delegates and visitors who had gone to attend the Session must be leaving for their homes. They will be carrying back with them a reinvigorated zeal for the ideal of Pakistan and a renewed faith in the leadership of Qaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Their hearts might well brim with gratitude to the Almighty for having made available to them the leadership of such a man in these difficult and momentous times, and prayers might well rise from their hearts that he should be spared long enough to guide the destinies of the Muslim nation and pilot it to the haven of safety which is already in sight.

The Session has listened to a number of speeches from

different leaders and passed a number of important resolutions. But by far the most important feature of the Session was the Presidential Address delivered by the Qaid-e-Azam, which not only revealed a penetrating estimate of the Indian situation from the Muslim point of view but also disclosed the right attitude towards the problems in which lies the safety of the Mussalmans. What more pointed description of the Muslim position could there be than the one given by Mr. Jinnah when he said that it was like being placed "between the devil and the deep sea?" Howsoever unevitable it might be to be situated in this manner, the fact needed to be brought home to the 100 million Muslims who inhabit India. Even if this were the only service rendered by Mr. Jinnah, the future generations of Muslims would gratefully remember it as one of inestimable importance and value.

The present relations between the Hindu and Muslim nations of India are deplorable in the extreme. But those relations are neither of Mussalmans' making nor are they any source of satisfaction to them. In fact Mussalmans have greater reason to deplore them because by virtue of their past history and their present character they can claim to be greater lovers of liberty than any other people on earth, and they know that liberty will remain out of reach so long as these relations continue as they are. Mr. Jinnah's clear perception of this fact has impelled him to make his appeal to Hindu India to help to bring about a settlement. If freedom is as dear as it is alleged to be, this call should not go without an appropriate response. Perhaps in the whole history of the Indian movement no one had greater opportunities of improving the Hindu-Muslim relations than Mr. Gandhi. But instead of devoting even a little bit of his time to this work of national importance he was launching and running those organisations to which Mr. Jinnah referred in his

Address. In giving the list of those institutions he has summed up Mr. Gandhi's life-work. Most of these institutions have contributed towards worsening those very relations the improvement of which would have been in the interest of the whole country. It is only after constant disillusionment and repeated humiliations that Muslims have managed to find their own ideal and decided to work for it.

Muslims are accused of being in league with Britons. If doing exactly what Hindus have done already amounts to being in league with Britons, Muslims probably are. When the Congress formed Ministries in a majority of Provinces and excluded the Muslim League from power, it was serving the country. But when the Muslim League forms Ministries and is cordially anxious to have the co-operation of the Congress, our Hindu friends are shocked. That is not the way to work for an understanding or harmony. If the Hindus have spoken for Hindu-Muslim unity and friendship, Muslims have acted for it. And if actions speak louder than words, the world now and posterity later on will judge and pronounce as to which of the two parties showed greater sincerity and sacrifice in the cause of the country's freedom and amity between the peoples of India. The Pakistan demand itself is designed to bring an end to the Hindu-Muslim question by providing the only possible basis for a settlement between the two sister nations. Instead of being given a cool, dispassionate and sympathetic consideration, it is subjected to cheap gibes and misleading criticism. And if any of their own leaders has vision and fairness enough to see the justice of the demand he is ostracized and made a political outcast.

That Mr. Jinnah expects no sympathy from the Britishers for Muslim aspirations he has made abundantly clear in his Presidential Address. There is ample justification for this lack of faith because we have seen how British

statemaneship has by turns oscillated from one side to another. The Lord Privy Seal came to India with an offer of the right of secession to the Provinces which, not without justification, was interpreted in certain quarters as a recognition of the Muslim demand of Pakistan, and almost immediately after his return high placed officials, both in England and India, began the work of "dangling the carrot before the donkey" by eloquent references to the geographical unity of India.

The most important among the highlights of his Presidential Address was the Qaid-e-Azam's reference to the Pakistan of his conception. The noble words are worth quoting at length: "Landlords and capitalists must be warned. They have flourished at our expense by a system which is vicious and wicked. Believe me, I have seen them. There are millions of our people getting hardly one meal a day. Is this civilization? Is this the aim of Pakistan? If that is going to be the result of Pakistan I will not have it. If these landlords and capitalists are wise they will adjust themselves to the new and modern conditions of life. If they do not, God help them, we will not help them." By this fleeting ray of his reference to Pakistan he has illumined, as it were, the picture of it as it is to be. These words are bound to be unpalatable to a handful of people and it might also fill them with misgivings, but they will be the sweetest of music to the ears of the millions upon millions of his followers who have pinned their faith to the leadership of the Qaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In these words lies also the clue to the Constitution of Pakistan whenever the day may come for its realization. Those who had any doubts on that point must now rest assured that Pakistan will in every way be worthy of taking its proper place in the New World Order that is to come after the war.—*Star of India* (Calcutta).

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It seems clearer every day that acceptance by Hindus of

the Muslim League plan is in the absence of an Indian Hitler a necessary prerequisite of India's constitutional advance. For only thus can existing antipathies be prevented from becoming mutual hatreds; and only thus can the British Government—whether considered as benevolent schoolmaster, armed referee or anti-National despot—be eliminated. League, Congress and Mahasabha each voice the "Quit India" slogan with the mental (and sometimes vocal) reservation that the full demands of the others shall not be granted. Although the League programme is at present built on an almost exclusively religious basis, political and economic arguments can be adduced to its support; and the prospect of a continuing struggle between industrial India and agricultural India will be readily accepted by those who are now being taught that the division is largely religious. They will not, in their present temper, acknowledge that industry and agriculture are complementary; and it may be that years of constitutional separation will be necessary before this axiom is accepted as such. For his part, Mr. Jinnah is believed to consider that realisation of the Pakistan ideal would of itself remove many of the causes of existing antagonism; and to be convinced that the period during which Britain would necessarily remain in India as referee or liquidator of her own interest would witness the growth of mutual understanding and mutual dependence between Pakistan and the rest of India. Those who oppose the Pakistan idea tooth and nail should seriously ask themselves what alternatives there are, remembering that every word which they utter or publish in support of their own view gives added strength to the appeal of Mr. Jinnah and the League. It would be extremely dangerous to assume that the League President is indulging in a colossal bluff when the calling of that bluff, in the absence of the "third party," might result in civil war of the bitterest kind. And it is futile to speak of India as "one and indivisible" when an or-

ganisation claiming to speak for a hundred millions of its inhabitants declares that it is not one and shall be divided.  
 —*The Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore).

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Outspoken as ever, Mr. Jinnah's three-hour address to the annual session of the All-India Muslim League was in many respects unique in the history of that body, even more so in a way than the one he delivered at Lahore in 1940. In this address he defined, without saying a word about it, what an independent Muslim front would look like. On one side he held out the hand of friendship to the Congress and to the whole Hindu race, while on the other he warned the British Government that the Muslims were not prepared to be exploited by them in their own imperial interests. Referring to the Government's resistance of the "Quit India" movement of the Congress the Qaid-i-Azam said, "The British say that in resisting the Congress they are protecting us. We say: 'Nothing of the kind. We don't believe that you love us so much.' We know it suits them, and they are taking the fullest advantage of the situation, because if there is any agreement between Hindus and Muslims, they know that the net result of that would be parting with power." These words may sound bitter to some but nobody who has any acquaintance with the history of British policy towards Indian Musalmans can deny that they are true. So Mr. Jinnah added, "I say that so far as Muslim India is concerned, our cup of bitterness is nearly full. I once more draw the British Government's attention to this. It is a very serious situation indeed, and the British Government ought to be kept informed. I inform them from this platform that the bitterness and disappointment at the shabby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them. Therefore, reconsider your position. Guarantee the Muslim right of self-

determination and give a pledge to abide by the plebiscite of Mussalmans for Pakistan."

Referring to the Government's accusation that the Muslim League was not co-operating with the war effort Mr. Jinnah said, "You want me to come as a camp follower. What are the prospects for me? If you are defeated, Japan or Hitler would come. If you win, I am to be a camp follower and get *bakhshish*. Is this an incentive to co-operation? Can any honourable, respectable nation accept that position?" This is the mode of thought of every self-respecting people. It is a new mode of thought for the Indian Mussalmans. They have taken a long time to learn it. Only a little while ago some of them looked for favours to the Government and others to the Congress. A self-respecting people asks for no charity of any nation and seeks to assert its own individuality. Mr. Jinnah as the true leader of Muslims is teaching them the right mode of thought.

Mr. Jinnah made a powerful plea to the Hindu leaders and to the Hindu public and said it was useless for them to appeal to other nations for intervention in Indian affairs. They had to deal with Mussalmans and the right course for them was to sit as equals and solve their problem by mutual agreement. It was irrelevant to go on saying that it was the British who kept them apart. No doubt, the British took advantage of their folly.

In the course of his address Mr. Jinnah explained why he could not agree to Mr. Gandhi's proposal to form a provisional national Government for the duration of the war on a basis of full responsibility and transfer of power. Such a Government could not be formed without repealing completely the present Constitution and replacing by it a wholly new one. It would mean the abolition of the office of the Secretary of State, the India Office and the control of His Majesty's Government.

Under such a Government the Viceroy could be turned immediately into a constitutional Governor-General and removed altogether. "If we proceed on that basis immediately," Mr. Jinnah said, "is not this obvious that once that basis is accepted, the Pakistan demand is destroyed at once, to say nothing of the bitter controversy that will arise on the basis of the constitution to be set up as described by Mr. Gandhi, namely, a Government responsible to a duly elected legislature? If or such a constitution comes into being, it means without doubt the establishment of Hindu and Congress Raj."

Referring to the loose talk that has been going on in India and abroad of some sort of a Federation as the right solution of India's political problem Mr. Jinnah declared, "There is a no such thing as a loose federation. When a Central Federal Government is once established, it will tighten and tighten until the units are pulverised in the matter of real power and are reduced to the same status as Indian States at present." That has been the fate of constituent units in all federal States throughout the world. The States entered the Federal Union of the U. S. A. as sovereign States but today they are no more sovereign than Indian provinces, and all prerogatives of sovereignty have passed to the Centre. Such a development is inherent in the federal idea and cannot be avoided. Therefore, Federation is unacceptable to the Indian Mussalmans. Accordingly Mr. Jinnah said, "we are opposed to any such scheme. It is bound in the long run to lead to the emasculation of the entire Muslim nation, socially, educationally, culturally, economically and politically and to the establishment of a Hindu Majority Raj in this sub-continent. Therefore, dismiss from your mind any idea of this kind that might lure you." Mr. Jinnah declared that if there was any change of heart on the part of the Congress, the League would let bygones be bygones and join hands



with the Congress to fight for India's freedom. Will the Hindus grasp the hand that has been held out to them? We have a doubt.—*The Eastern Times*. (Lahore)

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Whatever the defects in Mr. Jinnah's attitude towards the Congress, he seems to be more anxious now than ever before for a Congress-League settlement. There is a ring of sincerity in his question: "Why should not the country say: Unite and drive the British out"? But mere desire for unity, professed even by Amery and Co., cannot carry one far. It is possible and beneficent only on a just and sound basis. Opinions on the details of that basis will necessarily differ but negotiations are meant just for the purpose of minimising and composing differences. If so, they must commence without any conditions precedent like those which wrecked or prevented negotiations in the past. If Mr. Jinnah is prepared to carry them on with Gandhiji, to consider a letter from him without insisting on this or that as a preliminary condition, we do not think Gandhiji will have the least objection to write the desired letter. We cannot be quite sure about its being forwarded to Mr. Jinnah in an uncensored form and Gandhiji will rightly refuse to accept responsibility for any censored and mutilated letter. We have also doubts about Mr. Jinnah's reply being allowed by Government to be conveyed to Gandhiji. In any case we are sure mere correspondence cannot lead to a settlement for after a particular stage Gandhiji will naturally decline to speak on behalf of the Congress without contact with the members of the Working Committee. If, therefore, Mr. Jinnah is keen on a settlement with the Congress he should not only refrain from urging any conditions precedent to negotiations but should also demand facilities for contact with Congress leaders either direct or through intermediaries. *Bombay Chronicle* (Bombay).

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Mr. Jinnah is quite willing and ready to explore the possibilities of unity in the country. He has asked Gandhiji to get into touch with him. Indeed, he has thrown out a challenge to the Government of India and has asked which power would dare to stand between himself and Gandhiji if the latter took it into his head to contact Mr. Jinnah by correspondence. Perhaps, Mr. Jinnah errs a little too much on the side of optimism when he makes this challenge. He forgets that Mr. William Phillips, the personal representative of President Roosevelt himself, has been refused permission to contact Gandhiji and that one very material letter, as alleged by Mr. Rajagopalachariar, has been withheld from public knowledge by His Excellency the Viceroy, although that epistle of Gandni had contained—so we are told by Rajaji—material particulars which would disprove the contentions advanced by Sir Richard Tottenham in his now famous publication. "Congress Responsibility for the Recent Disturbances." It must, however, be admitted that Mr. Jinnah's challenge reveals the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" in him. We must confess that we were delighted to read his reference to himself as having sat at the feet of Dadabhoy Naoroji. We distinctly recall, therefore, Mr. Jinnah's speech at the Calcutta Congress of 1906 under the presidentship of Dadabhoy when Jinnah the disciple of Pherozeshah Mehta, supporting a demand for the appointment of a Commission on Waqf properties, "welcomed the resolution as showing that the Musalmans could make known their grievances through the Congress."

The Qade-i-Azam's latest presidential address is one more proof—if proofs were needed—of his sincerity to end the present deadlock. It should have opened the eyes of the blind and ears of the deaf. The policy of black-guarding the League was carried too far and for every miscarriage in Indian politics the blame was placed at the door of Mr. Jinnah. In spite of all that now once

again Mr. Jinnah has stretched out his hand of friendship and it is for Mr. Gandhi to grasp it.

Mr. Jinnah is critical of the Government attitude in as much as they are exploiting the communal differences and are refusing to part with power. "They have blundered and are blundering," he says, "and are taking their attitude towards the Muslim League. How can it offer its whole hearted co-operation when it is neither given power nor treated as an equal. He explains the British policy saying : "You want me to come as a camp follower. What are the prospects for me ? If I am defeated, Japan or Hitler will come. If I win, I am to be a camp follower and get a *bakhish*. Is this an incentive to co-operation ? Can any honourable respectable nation accept that position ?" He is dissatisfied with the British policy pursued for a hundred years. He declares : "I say to the Hindus—and the British know it—the quickest way for the freedom of the people of India, both Hindus and Muslims, is Pakistan." He feels that the Government are taking undue advantage of our differences, adding : "I can say this with a clear conscience. My regret is that it is the Congress and Hindu leadership that is holding up the attainment of freedom of both Hindus and Muslims."

The Hindu leadership by refusing to accede to the Muslim League demand for Pakistan are doing incalculable harm to the country and to themselves. Harping upon the pet theories like Akhand Bharat and indivisible India has not carried us far. When two nations having an ocean of difference in religion, culture, traditions and civilization have eluded attempts to be welded together, what is the use of chasing the same phantom which has escaped everybody's grasp ? Therefore does it not stand to reason when Mr. Jinnah asks "if we cannot secure power as a united

India, then let us take it as a divided India"? Hence his appeal to Mr. Gandhi to write to him if a change of heart has come over him. Pakistan, of course, is the condition precedent for any settlement. But then why oppose Pakistan? It is no more the cry of a few Muslim leaders. It has not only become an article of faith with the hundred million Muslims of India but it has, during the past three years, gathered strength and even support from members of the opposite camp. As such has the Congress—which tom-tommed its willingness for a transfer of power to the Muslim League—any reason to deny the claim of the Muslims? This is a clear test. The Hindu leadership must come forward boldly and grasp the out-stretched hand of friendship. Who can do it except Mr. Gandhi? No man is better suited for this gigantic task. In Indian politics there are no two different things as Gandhi and Congress—both are synonyms; one is the embodiment of the other. Whatever may be the individual opinion of other leaders, Gandhiji's is the last word—his decision is final and binding even though he is not a four-anna member of the Congress. He needs consult no colleagues; he can announce his decisions, for they will be obeyed and no one will have the daring to disagree. He is, in fact, to the Congress what Hitler is to the Nazi Party. He has studied Muslim mind, Muslim politics and aspirations. And now when one hundred million Muslims are *en bloc* behind the League and demand Pakistan, is it justice to turn them down?

Now everything rests in the hands of Gandhiji—also the key for the dead-lock. Nothing should deter him from writing to Mr. Jinnah. There is absolutely no use hugging the exploded one-nation theory or citing Linlithgow's discomfery of "India is geographically one" or Amery's prattle "under Akbar India was united." They only make con-

fusion worse confounded. One must face facts. Muslims have from a thousand platforms reiterated their belief in Pakistan and are determined to achieve it. And their recent activities show that they are heart and soul with the League. Under the instance of the League they kept aloof from Congress Goonda Raj. Day by day the League is growing from strength to strength and Mr. Jinnah can well proclaim: "The League is now the voice of the people, the authority of the *Millat*, and you have to bow before it." One can no more question its power or representative character. Parallel Muslim organisations set up and financed by interested parties were condemned to premature and dishonourable deaths. Today the League's strength is unchallengeable. Some time ago Mr. Gandhi has said, "If all the Muslims want Pakistan, no power on earth can stop them."

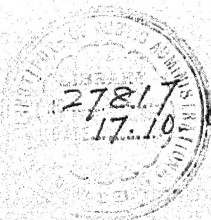
There is ample evidence that today the entire Muslim nation is behind this demand. Gandhiji cannot deny it unless he chooses to close his eyes tight to realities. If a change of heart has come over him—and we trust it ought to have—let him write to Mr. Jinnah. Nobody will welcome it more than the Qaede Azam. That will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Muslims. "Then the Muslim League will not fail, whatever may have been our controversies before."

The Qaede Azam appeals that the chapter of past animosities be closed. He says: "Even nations that have killed millions of each other, even they who were the bitterest enemies yesterday, have today become friends." He appeals to the Hindus to come forward and says: "Stop this internecine war. Declare a truce. Let us sit as two equals and come to a settlement." He wants the country to declare: "Unite and drive the British out."

This is clear welcome to the Hindu leadership. No one can charge Mr. Jinnah with reluctance or unwillingness.

to come to a settlement. Once again he has made an offer. Once more his hand of friendship is stretched out. Is it not Mr. Gandhi's duty to avail of the opportunity and grasp the hand of friendship? Who wants the continuance of the present stalemate? Nobody is sick of it more than the Muslims. Now the initiative rests with Mr. Gandhi. In his hands lies the key for the dead-lock as also the future of India's teeming millions. Let not Gandhiji at this hour of trial seek shelter under his pet phrases 'put me among the Working Committee' or 'I am not even a four-anna member of the Congress.' If he says it will be disastrous to the Hindus, to the Muslims and to the country at large. The dead-lock will have one more fresh lease of life and the goal will be too far and beyond reach.

On the other hand, if he informs the Qaede Azam of his change of heart, communal unity is possible and freedom will be within reach. The Government will not stop such a letter for they have emphasized that they are too willing to bring about a settlement. Why not put their sincerity to the test? Will Mr. Gandhi write? *The Deccan Time* (Madras).



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